



William Scott Kerr.
of Chatto.



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ON

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.



A N
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O N
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
T H E
M A N N E R S, A N D S P I R I T
O F
N A T I O N S,

From the Reign of CHARLEMAIGN

To the Age of LEWIS XIV.

Written in French by M. de VOLTAIRE.

Translated into English,

With additional Notes and Chronological Tables,

By Mr. NUGENT.

The SECOND EDITION, revised, and considerably
improved by the AUTHOR.

V O L. IV.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. NOURSE at the *Lamb* opposite *Katherine-
Street* in the *Strand*. MDCCLIX.



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ERRATA.

— Page 49. line 23. for *Rhe* read *Riss*. P. 111.
l. 10. for *Masambique* read *Mosambique*. P. 167. l.
2. from the bottom, after *withdrawn* put a comma.
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word.

A N
E S S A Y
O N
Universal History,
And the MANNERS and SPIRIT of
N A T I O N S.



C H A P. CXLIII.

Of Henry IV.

READING the history of Henry IV in father Daniel, we are surprized not to find the likenefs of a great man. Scarce do we perceive his character; we meet with very few of those beautiful replies which convey an image of his mind; not a word of that ever-memorable speech which he made to the assembly of the nobility at Rouen; no particulars of the great good he did his country. A dry account of military operations, long speeches to the parliament

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liament

liament in favour of the Jesuits, and, in short, the life of father Cotton, are the whole of the reign of Henry IV in Daniel's history.

Bayle, an author oftentimes as censurable and as trifling upon points of history and political matters, as he is judicious and profound in disputes of logic, begins his article of Henry IV with saying, *That had he been castrated, he might have eclipsed the glory of the Cæsars and the Alexanders.* It is such things as these that Bayle ought to have struck out of his dictionary. Even his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition; for Cæsar was far more debauched than Henry IV: and we can see no reason why the latter should have outdone Alexander. It were to be wished, for the example of kings, and for the satisfaction of the public, that they would consult other authors, as Mezeray's great history, Perrefix, and Sully's Memoirs, in regard to the reign of this excellent prince.

Let us, for our own particular use, draw up an abridgment of this life, which was a great deal too short. He was bred from his infancy in the midst of troubles and misfortunes. At the age of fourteen he was at the battle of Moncon-
 1569. tour. He is called back to Paris, and marries the sister of Charles IX, only to see his friends around him assassinated, to run the risk of his own life, and to be detained three years a state-prisoner. Released from confinement, he experiences all the fatigues and vicissitudes of war, oftentimes wanting the necessaries of life, never enjoying any repose, venturing his person like the boldest common soldier, and performing exploits that seem credible only by being repeated;



as when at the taking of Cahors in 1580 he was under arms five days successively, fighting from street to street, while he had scarce time to rest. The victory at Coutras was owing chiefly to his bravery: and his humanity after this battle ought to have gained him every body's affection. 1587.

Upon the murder of Henry III he becomes king of France: but religion serves as a pretence for one half of the leading men of the army to abandon him, and for the league not to acknowledge him as king. They chuse for their sovereign a phantom, the cardinal of Bourbon-Vendome; and the king of Spain, having bribed the Leaguers, looks upon France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, son-in-law of Philip, invades Provence and Dauphiné. The parliament of Languedoc forbid his being recognized king upon pain of death, and declare him *incapable of ever possessing the crown of France, agreeably to the bull of our h. ly father the pope.* 1589.

Henry IV had nothing to support him but the justice of his cause, his courage, and his friends. He was never in a condition to keep an army long on foot: and what sort of an army? it scarce ever amounted to twelve thousand men complete; which is less than the usual detachments in our times. His tenants came alternately to enlist under his banner, and returned alternately to their respective houses at the end of a few months service. The Swiss, whom he could hardly find money to pay, and a few companies of lancemen, formed the main of his standing forces. He was obliged to run about from town to town, to fight and to negotiate

without intermission. There is not a province in France, in which he did not perform great feats, at the head of a handful of men.

1589. He begins with gaining a victory at Arques in the neighbourhood of Dieppe, only with five thousand men, over the duke of Mayenne's army, which was five and twenty thousand strong; then he makes himself master of the suburbs of Paris, and only wants a few more troops to take the town. He is obliged to retire, and to force his way through villages strengthened with entrenchments, in order to open a communication with the towns that support his cause.

While he is continually exposed to fatigue and danger, cardinal Cajetan, the pope's legate, enters Paris to prescribe laws in his holiness's name. The Sorbonne proclaims aloud that he is no king; and the league reigns in triumph under the sanction of that cardinal Vendome, intitled Charles X, in whose name they coined money, while the king kept him confined at Tours.

The monks and friars animate the people against him. The Jesuits run from Paris to Rome, and to Spain. Father Matthew, called the *courier* of the league, is indefatigable in procuring bulls and soldiers. The king of Spain sends about four thousand horse, and three thousand of the old Walloon infantry under count Egmont, son of that very count whom he had caused to be beheaded. Henry draws his few forces together, which do not amount to ten thousand combatants. He fights the famous battle of Ivry
1590. against the Leaguers commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and against the Spaniards, who were
greatly

greatly superior in number, in artillery, and in every thing requisite for maintaining a considerable army. This battle he gains in the same manner as he had gained that of Coutras, by breaking into the enemy's ranks through a forest of spears. Posterity will for ever remember these words of his; *If you lose your colours, be sure to rally towards my white feather; you will ever find it in the road to honour and glory.* *Save the Frenchmen*, he cried out, when the victors were hewing down the enemy.

It was not here as at Coutras, where he had hardly the command. He did not lose a moment, but immediately pursued his advantage. His army follow him with joy; and receive some reinforcements. But after all he had not fifteen thousand men: with these few troops he besieges Paris, which still contained two hundred and twenty thousand souls. He would surely have taken it by famine, had not he himself, out of too great compassion, permitted the besiegers to feed the enemy. In vain did his generals, in compliance with his orders, issue out prohibitions upon pain of death, not to sell any provisions to the Parisians; the soldiers themselves supplied them for money. One day, when they were leading two country fellows to be hanged up as an example, for carrying some cart-loads of bread to a back gate of that city, Henry met them in the way to his quarters; upon which they flung themselves upon their knees, and protested to him that they had only this method of getting their livelihood. *Get you gone*, said the king to them, giving them instantly all the money he had about him; *Henry of Bearn*,
A 3 added

added he, *is poor; if he had more, he would give it you.* It is impossible for a generous heart to read such passages without tenderness and admiration.

During the siege of Paris the monks went about in procession, armed with muskets, crucifixes, and cuirasses. The parliament, the superior courts, and the citizens, swore upon the evangelists, in the presence of the legate and the Spanish ambassador, never to admit him. But at length provisions fell short, and they began to feel the direful effects of famine.

2590. Philip II sends the duke of Parma with a puissant army to the relief of Paris. Henry IV advances, and offers him battle. Every body must have heard of the letter, which he wrote from the intended field of battle to Gabrielle d'Estree, whom her royal lover will ever render famous in story: *If I die, my last thought will be on God, and the last but one on you.* The duke of Parma refused to fight him; his errand was to relieve Paris, and to render the league more dependent on the king of Spain. To besiege this great city with so small a number of troops, before a superior army, was a thing impossible. Thus his prosperity is checked, and he is deprived of the fruit of his victories. However he prevents the duke of Parma from making conquests; and, following him close to the frontiers of Picardy, he obliges him to retire into Flanders.

Scarce was he delivered from this enemy, when pope Gregory XIV, of the family of Sfondrati, employs the treasures amassed by Sixtus Quintus, to send a reinforcement of troops to the

the league. The king was constantly obliged to fight against Spain, Rome, and France; for the duke of Parma, when he retired, left eight thousand men with the duke of Mayenne. The pope's nephew enters France with Italian troops and monitories; and joins the duke of Savoy in Dauphiné. Lesdiguières, he who was afterwards the last constable of France, and the last great lord, defeated the troops of Savoy and Rome. He carried on the war, like Henry IV, with officers, who served only upon occasion; and yet he beat those regular forces. Every man in France, whether peasant, artificer, or burgher, was then a soldier: this laid the country waste, but prevented it from falling a prey to its neighbours. The pope's soldiers disbanded, after setting such examples of debauchery, as had been hitherto unknown on this side of the Alps. The inhabitants of the open country burnt the goats that followed their regiments.

Philip II continued from his easy chair to feed and to stir up this fire, constantly supplying the duke of Mayenne with small succours, to prevent him from being either too weak or too strong; and expending great sums of money in Paris, in order to have his daughter Clara Eugenia recognized queen of France, in conjunction with the prince whom he intended for her husband. With this design he sends the duke of Parma once more into France, when Henry IV laid siege to Rouen; as he had sent him before during the siege of Paris. He promised the league that he would order an army of fifty thousand men to march to their assistance, as soon as his daughter was made queen. Henry after raising

ing the siege of Rouen, obliges the duke of Parma once more to retire out of France.

In the mean time the faction of sixteen, pensionaries of Philip II, were very near fulfilling the views of that monarch, and completing the intire ruin of the kingdom. They had hanged up the first president of the parliament of Paris, and two magistrates who opposed their treasonable designs. On the other hand the duke of Mayenne apprehensive of being crushed by this faction, had caused four of them to be served in the
1593. same manner. In the midst of this scene of distraction and horror, the States General were held at Paris under the direction of the pope's legate and the Spanish ambassador: the legate presided over the assembly, placing himself in the great chair, which had been left empty, to denote it belonged to the king who was to be elected. The Spanish ambassador had a seat there: he harangued against the Salic law, and proposed the infanta for their queen. The parliament of Paris made remonstrances to the duke of Mayenne in favour of the Salic law: but were not those remonstrances evidently concerted with this party leader? did not the nomination of the infanta deprive him of his post? did not the intended marriage of that princess to his nephew the duke of Guise, render him dependent, when he wanted to continue master?

While this assembly of the states, so tumultuous and irregular in their proceedings, were debating at Paris, Henry was still at the gates, threatening to enter the city. He had several adherents within the walls. Many of the honest citizens, tired of their calamities and of a foreign yoke,
sighed

Of Henry IV.

fighed after peace; but the common people were restrained by religion. In this respect the vulgar in all countries prescribe laws to the great and the wise: they make the largest number; they hurry on precipitately; they are fanatic; and Henry IV was not in such circumstances as to imitate the example of Henry VIII, or queen Elizabeth. He was therefore obliged to change his religion; a thing ever disagreeable to a gallant man. 1594.
The laws of honour, which never vary among polite nations, while every thing else is subject to change, have rendered such a step infamous, when dictated by interest. But this interest was so considerable, so general, and so strongly connected with the welfare of the kingdom, that the best friends he had among the Calvinists, advised him to embrace the religion which they detested. *It is necessary*, said *Roni* to him, *that you should be a papist, and that I continue a protestant*. This is what the league and the Spanish faction were most afraid of. The names of *heretic* and *relapsed*, were their principal arms, which his conversion rendered useless. He was obliged to be instructed, but only for form's sake; for indeed he knew more of the matter already than the bishops with whom he conferred. His mother had bred him up in the knowledge of the scriptures, in which he was thoroughly versed. Controversy had been as much the subject of conversation in his own party, as war and love. Quotations from the bible, and allusions to this book, entered into the composition of what they called *a fine wit* in those days: and so familiar was the scripture to this prince, that at the battle of Coutras, upon taking

an officer prisoner, whose name was Chateaurénard, he cried out to him, *surrender, Philistin.*

His opinion concerning this conversion appears plain enough by a letter to Gabrielle d'Estée: *To-morrow I am going to take the dangerous leap. I think these people here will make me hate S. Denis, as much as you hate*———It is sacrificing truth to false decorum, to pretend with father Daniel, that Henry IV had been a catholic in his heart long before his conversion: no doubt but his conversion secured his eternal welfare, but it did not at all strengthen his right to the crown.

The conferences rendered his person dear to every body that went out of Paris to see him. One of the deputies being surprized at the familiarity with which his officers pressed round him, so as hardly to leave room enough for his majesty: *This is nothing at all*, said he, *they press round me much closer in time of battle.* At length having retaken the town of Dreux by storm before he learnt his new catechism, he made his abjuration at S. Denis, and was crowned at Chartres: by these preparatory steps, and especially by the intelligence he had established in Paris, which was garrisoned with three thousand Spaniards, besides some Neapolitans and Lansquenets, he entered the city as sovereign, with no more troops about his person, than there were foreigners within the walls.

Paris had neither seen nor acknowledged a king these fifteen years. This revolution was conducted by two men only, the marshal de Brissac, and a brave citizen of a less illustrious name,

name, though not less noble a soul, an † *echevin* of Paris, named L'Anglais. These two restorers of the public tranquillity, soon formed an association with the magistrates and principal burghers. Their measures were so well concerted; the legate, cardinal de Pellevé, the Spanish officers, and the sixteen were so artfully deceived, and afterwards so overawed, that Henry IV made his public entry into his capital, almost without any effusion of blood. He sent back all the foreigners, though he might have kept them prisoners; and he pardoned all the Leaguers. 1594.

A great many cities followed the example of Paris; but Henry was still far from being master of the kingdom. Philip II, with a view of rendering himself necessary to the league, had never done all the harm he could to the king; but now he exerted himself in several provinces. Disappointed of his expectation of reigning over France under the name of his daughter, he bent his whole attention towards weakening the kingdom by a dismemberment; so that France was like to be reduced to a worse condition, than when the English were in possession of one moiety of the country, and the petty lords tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guise, son to the duke, surnamed *the Scarred*, was master of Rheims, and part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur was in possession of Britany; and the Spaniards had Blavet in the same province, now Port Louis. Even the principal officers under Henry, thought of making themselves independent. The calvinistical party

† A sort of magistrate representing the Roman *edilis*.

whom he had deserted, were fortifying themselves in their respective provinces against the Leaguers, and providing resources to oppose one day the royal authority. Henry IV was obliged to have recourse to as many intrigues as battles, in order to recover his kingdom by degrees. Notwithstanding that he was in possession of Paris, his power for some time was so unsettled, that pope Clement VIII constantly refused to grant him absolution, which in more fortunate times the king would not have wanted. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents. In short the epidemical distemper of fanaticism had taken so deep a root in the minds of the catholic populace, that scarce a year passed without their plotting to destroy him. His whole life was spent in fighting against one chief or another, in conquering, in pardoning, in negotiating, and in purchasing the submission of his enemies. Who could have imagined that it cost him thirty two millions of livres to satisfy the pretensions of so many lords? This appears from the memoirs of the duke of Sully: and those engagements were punctually discharged, when at length being settled in full peace and authority on the throne, he might have refused to pay this price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not come to an accommodation with him till 1596. Henry was sincerely reconciled to him, and gave him the government of the isle of France. After having tired him one day with a walk, he said to him, *Cousin, this is the only harm I'll do you while I live;* and he not only said so, but kept his word, which indeed he never broke to any body.

He

He recovered his kingdom, but in the same ruinous and exhausted state in which it had been, during the reigns of Philippe of Valois, John, and Charles VI. High roads were covered with briars; and ways were opened through fallow lands. Paris, which at present contains above seven hundred thousand inhabitants, had * not then a hundred and fourscore thousand. The revenues of the state, which had been wantonly squandered under Henry III, were now no more than a publick traffic of the blood of the people, which the council of finances shared with the farmers of the revenue.

The queen of England, the great duke of Tuscany, some of the German princes, and the Dutch had lent him money, with which he had maintained himself against the league, against Rome, and against Spain; and in order to pay those lawful debts, the general receiver's office and the crown lands were resigned to farmers for those foreign powers, who administered the revenue in the very heart of the kingdom. Several of the leading men of the league, who had made their king pay for that allegiance which they naturally owed him, kept likewise receivers of the public money, and shared this branch of sovereignty. The farmers of those alienated duties plundered the people of four times more than their demand amounted to; and when at length the general depredation obliged Henry IV to give the intire administration of the finances to the duke of Sully, this able and upright minister found that in the year 1596, they raised about a hundred and

* There were 220000 souls in Paris when that city was besieged by Henry IV, in 1590. There were only 180,000 in 1593.
fifty

fifty millions of livres on the people, to bring about thirty into the Exchequer.

Had not Henry IV been the bravest, the most merciful, and the most upright prince of his time, as well as the honestest man, his kingdom would have been ruined. France stood in need of a prince, capable of conducting it in war and peace, of probing the wounds of the state, and applying proper remedies; of giving his attention to matters of small as well as great concern, capable in short of every thing; and such a prince was Henry IV. He united the prudent administration of Charles the Sage, with the valour and frankness of Francis I. and the good nature of Lewis XII.

In order to provide against such a number of exigences, and to be able to transact so many treaties as well as to carry on so many wars, Henry convened a meeting of the chief nobility of the kingdom; it was a kind of states general. The speech he made them is still engraved in the memory of every good Frenchman, acquainted with the history of his country. *Already by the protection of heaven, by the counsels of my honest servants, and by the sword of my brave nobility, between whom and my princes I make no distinction, the appellation of gentleman being our noblest title, have I drawn this state out of servitude and ruin. I would willingly restore it to its former vigour and lustre; and that you should partake of this second glory, as you have shared the first. I have not called you together as my predecessors used to do, to oblige you blindly to approve my will, but to take your opinion, to follow it, and to put myself under your direction. This is what seldom comes into the head of kings,*

kings, of conquerors, or of veterans: but the love I bear my people, enables me to do every thing, and to look upon it as honourable. This eloquence from the heart of a hero is greatly superior to all the harangues of antiquity.

In the midst of these troubles, and continual¹⁵²⁷ dangers, the Spaniards surprize Amiens, the inhabitants of which had undertaken to defend themselves. This unhappy privilege, of which they made such bad use, was the cause of their town being plundered, while it exposed all Picardy to danger, and revived the efforts of those who were still desirous of dismembering France. Henry at the news of this misfortune had no money, and besides was in a bad state of health. Nevertheless he assembles a few troops, and marches towards the frontiers of Picardy; thence he flies back to Paris, and writes with his own hand to the parliaments, and to the corporations, *to get bread to feed those who defended the state*: these are his own words. He goes himself to the parliament of Paris, where he says; *If you will give me an army, I'll venture my life with all my heart to save you, and to relieve the state*. He proposed the creation of new offices, in order to raise the necessary supplies: but the parliament finding this method dangerous, refused to register the edicts; so that the king was obliged to exert his whole authority to find the necessary funds, for venturing his life at the head of his nobility.

At length what by loans, and by the indefatigable care of that worthy servant of his, Roni duke of Sully, he raises a fine army. This was the only one for these thirty years that was provided with all necessaries, and the first that had a regular hospital,
in

in which the sick and wounded had proper assistance. Before that time each company or troop took what care they could of their wounded; and as many perished through want of care as by the sword.

Henry retakes Amiens in sight of the archduke Albert, and obliges him to retire. From thence he hastens to settle the rest of the kingdom; and at length all France submits to his government. The pope, who had refused him absolution before he was settled on the throne, was pleased to grant it, when he saw him crowned with victory. Nothing more remained, than to conclude a peace with Spain; which he did at Ver-

1598. vins: and this was the first advantageous treaty that France had made since the reign of Philip Augustus.

From that time forward he placed all his care in polishing and improving this kingdom, which he had acquired by the point of his sword: the useless troops were disbanded; order was introduced into the revenue after the most abominable depeculations; and by degrees he payed all the debts of the crown without oppressing the people. The peasants to this day remember a saying of his, *That he should be glad to see them have a fowl upon the table every Sunday*; the expression is trivial, but the sentiment, paternal. The law was reformed, and what seems more difficult, the people of both religions lived peaceably together, at least in appearance. Trade and the polite arts were encouraged. Gold and silver stuffs, which had been prohibited by a sumptuary edict in the beginning of a troublesome reign, and in times of distress, began to appear with

with splendor, and to enrich Lyons and France. He erected manufactures of silk and woollen tapestry. They began to make small looking-glasses in the Venetian taste. To him only we are indebted for our silk worms, for our plantations of mulberry trees, notwithstanding the opposition of Sully, a man more valuable for his fidelity and skill in administering the revenue, than fond of novelties. Henry cut the canal of Briare, by which the Seine and Loire are joined. Paris was enlarged and embellished: the *Place Royale* was laid out; and all the bridges were repaired. The suburb of S. Germain did not join the town; nor was it paved. The king undertakes the whole. He erects that fine bridge, where the people still look with an eye of tenderness on his statue. St. Germain, Mouceaux, Fontainebleau, and especially the Louvre, are enlarged, and almost new built. He resides in the Louvre under that long gallery, in the building of which he had employed artists of every kind, whom he encouraged by honours and rewards. In a word, he is the real founder of the king's library.

When don Pedro di Toledo was sent ambassador by Philip III to Henry IV, he did not know this town again, which he had formerly beheld in so low and wretched a condition: *It is because the father of the family was not there at that time*, said Henry to him, *but now that he has the care of his children, they thrive and prosper*. Sports, festivals, and balls, which Catharine de Medicis had introduced to court in times of trouble, were now applied to adorn these happy and peaceful days under Henry IV.

While thus he promoted the prosperity of his own

own state, he was the arbiter of others. Little did the court of Rome imagine at the time of the league, that *Henry of Bearn* would be the pacifier of Italy, and the moderator between her and Venice. Yet Paul V was extremely fortunate in applying to Henry, to extricate him out of the difficulty into which he had involved himself by excommunicating the doge and senate, and by laying the state of Venice under what they call an † *interdict*, for a dispute about incontestable rights, which the senate maintained with their usual vigor. The king was arbiter of the difference. He whom the popes had excommunicated, got the excommunication of Venice taken off*.

He

† An interdict is a papal prohibition to the clergy to celebrate holy offices.

* Father Daniel relates a fact that appears very extraordinary; and he is the only one that relates it. He pretends that Henry IV, after having reconciled the pope to the republic of Venice, spoiled this accommodation himself, by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris an intercepted letter from a minister of Geneva, wherein he boasted that the doge of Venice, and several senators were protestants in their hearts; that they only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare themselves; that father Fulgentio of the order of Servites, companion and friend of the celebrated Sarpi so well known by the name of Fra Paolo, *was labouring hard in this same vineyard*. He adds that Henry IV ordered his ambassador to shew this letter to the senate, only leaving out the doge's name. But when Daniel has given the substance of this letter, in which the name of Fra Paolo is not to be found, he says nevertheless that this same Fra Paolo was accused in the copy of the letter shewn to the senate. He does not mention the name of the minister, who wrote this letter, which is said to have been intercepted. It is likewise observable that this letter related to the Jesuits, who were banished from the Venetian dominions. In a word, Daniel makes use of this pretended step of Henry IV, as a proof of that prince's zeal for the catholic religion. It would have been a strange sort of zeal in Henry IV thus to create inquietude in the senate of Venice his best ally, and to blend the mean

He protected the infant republic of Holland, assisted her with money, and contributed not a little to her being recognized by Spain a free and independent state.

His glory was therefore established both at home and abroad; so that he passed for the greatest man of his time. The reputation of the emperor Rodolphus, was confined to natural philosophers and chemists. Philip II was never in battle: besides he was no more than a dark, dissembling, active tyrant; and his prudence could never be compared to the valour and frankness of Henry IV, who, with all his fallies, was as good a politician as Philip. Elizabeth acquired great reputation; but, not having met with the same difficulties, she could never pretend to the same degree of glory. Her real merit was diminished by the mean tricks and artifices with which she is charged; and stained by the blood of Mary Stuart, which can never be washed out. Sixtus Quintus got a name by the obelisks which he raised, and by the monuments

mean character of a shuffler with the glory of a mediator. I own there might have been a letter, real or forged, from a minister at Geneva, and even that this letter might have produced some little intrigues extremely indifferent to the grand object of history; but it is not at all probable that Henry IV should descend so far beneath himself, as to commit the dirty action of which Daniel does him the honour. He further adds, *that whoever keeps up a connexion with heretics, either is of their religion, or has none at all.* This odious reflexion makes even against Henry IV, who of all men in his time had the most numerous connexions with the reformed. We could have wished that father Daniel had entered into the particulars of the administration of Henry IV and of the duke of Sully, rather than into those mean trifles which discover more partiality than justice, and prove the author to be more a Jesuit than a lover of his country. The count de Boulainvilliers had a great deal of reason to say, that it is almost impossible for a Jesuit to write a good history of France.

with

with which he adorned the city of Rome. Setting aside this kind of merit, far inferior to the former, he would never have been known but for having mounted the papal throne by fifteen years dissembling, and for a severity that bordered upon cruelty.

They who are so angry with Henry IV for his amours, do not reflect that his foibles are such as are incident to the best of men, and that none of them hindered him from attending to the affairs of government. This appeared very plain, when he was preparing to be the arbiter of Europe, upon the dispute concerning the succession of Juliers. It is an absurd calumny of le Vassor, and some other compilers, to say that Henry was going to embark in this war for the sake of the young princess of Condé: we ought to believe the duke of Sully, who acknowledges the weakness of this monarch, and proves at the same time that no amorous passion was mingled with his grand designs. It was not surely for the princess of Condé that Henry concluded the treaty of Cherasco, that he made sure of all the Italian powers, and of the princes of Germany, and that he was mounting the last step to glory while he held the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thousand men. Every circumstance seemed to bid fair for success; a reserve of forty millions of livres in his coffers; preparations immense; strong alliances; able generals formed under himself; the protestant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the united Netherlands, ready to concur in his measures. The pretended division of Europe into fifteen states is acknowledged

ledged to be a chimera that could not enter into his head. Had there ever been any negotiation on foot in regard to so extraordinary a design, some traces of it would have appeared in England, Venice, or Holland, in concert with whom Henry is supposed to have planned this revolution: but there is not the least vestige of it to be found; therefore the project is neither true nor probable. However, by means of his alliances, as well as by his arms and his œconomy, he was going to change the system, and to render himself the arbiter of Europe; which would have raised him to the summit of glory.

Were we to draw this faithful portrait of Henry IV in the hearing of a sensible foreigner, who had never before been acquainted with his name, and then conclude with telling him; This is the very man who was assassinated in the midst of his people, and whose life was attempted several times before by persons, to whom he had never done the least harm; it would be impossible for him to believe it.

What a pity it is that the same religion, which enjoins the forgiving of injuries, should have been so long the cause of committing so many murders, and in virtue of this maxim only, that whoever does not think as we do is damned, and that we ought to hold the damned in detestation.

What is more extraordinary, the catholics did not conspire against the life of this good king, till he became of their religion. The first who designed to assassinate him, at the very time he was making his abjuration at St. Denis, was a wretch from the scum of the people, named Peter Barriere. He had some scruple upon his mind
when

when the king had abjured: but he was confirmed in his design by the most furious of all the Leaguers, Aubri curate of St. André des Arts; as also by a Capuchin friar, by a Secular priest, and by Varade rector of the college of Jesuits. The celebrated Stephen Paquier, advocate-general of the chamber of accounts, declares he had heard from Barriere's own mouth, that Varade had spurred him on to commit the crime. This accusation receives a new degree of probability, from the absconding of Varade and the curate Aubri, who took shelter at the cardinal legate's, and attended him in his return to Rome, at the time that Henry IV made his entry into Paris. In a word, what corroborates this probability, Varade and Aubri were afterwards quartered in effigy by a decree of the parliament of Paris, as related in Henry IVth's journal. Daniel uses some endeavours to exculpate the Jesuit Varade: but the secular clergy have recourse to no artifices to justify the mad parsons of that time; the Sorbonne confesses its odious decrees; while the Dominicans agree, that their brother Clement assassinated Henry III, and that he had been incited to commit this parricide by Burgoin his prior. The truth should prevail over every other consideration; hence it declares that none of the present clergy ought to be reproached with the sanguinary maxims and barbarous superstition of their predecessors, since they all abhor them: it only preserves the remembrance of those crimes, to the end that they may never be an object of imitation.

The spirit of fanaticism was so generally diffused throughout the kingdom, that a silly Carthusian,

thusian, named Quin, was deluded to such a degree, as to fancy he should take flight directly to heaven, by killing Henry IV. The wretch was confined as a madman by order of his superiors. In the beginning of 1599 two Dominican friars of Flanders, one named Arger, the other Ridi-covi, of Italian extraction, resolved to follow the example of their brother, James Clement: the plot was discovered; and the gallows prevented their committing the atrocious deed. This execution did not terrify a Capuchin friar of Milan, who travelled to Paris with the same design, and underwent the same punishment.

Of all the attempts to assassinate this prince, ^{Dec.} that of John Chatel is the strongest proof of the ^{27,} reigning madness of the times: born of a gen- ^{1595.} teel family, of rich parents, carefully educated, young and unexperienced, being under nineteen, it was impossible he should have formed of himself so desperate a resolution. Every body knows that he struck the king with a knife in the Louvre; and that the reason of his hitting him on the mouth, was because that good prince, having been accustomed to embrace his servants who came to pay their court to him after a long absence, was at that time stooping to embrace Montigni.

Upon his first interrogatory he maintained, *that he had done a good action, and that as the king had not as yet been absolved by the pope, he might kill him with a safe conscience*: which alone proves he was seduced.

This young man had studied some time at the Jesuits college. Among the dangerous superstitions of those days there was one capable of turn-
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ing people's brains ; this was the chamber of spiritual exercises, to which young people used to retire for meditation : the walls were painted with devils, torments, and hell-flames, discerned by a dim light : weak imaginations were often affected with this scene to a degree of madness : this madness might work on the brain of a poor wretch, so as to make him believe he should escape hell by butchering his sovereign.

There is no doubt but the judges would have been deficient in their duty, if they had not examined into the papers of the Jesuits ; especially after John Chatel had confessed, that he had frequently heard some of those fathers say that king-killing was lawful.

Among the papers of the professor Guignard, these very words were found in his own handwriting, that *neither Henry III, nor Henry IV, nor queen Elizabeth, nor the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, were lawful sovereigns ; that Henry III was a Sardanapalus, Henry of Bearn a fox, Elizabeth a she-wolf, the king of Sweden a griffin ; and the elector of Saxony a hog : this was called eloquence. James Clement, he said, did an heroic act, inspired by the Holy Ghost ; if we can carry on the war against Henry of Bearn, let us ; if not, let us kill him.*

It was something extraordinary that Guignard did not burn that writing, the very instant he heard of Chatel's attempt. They seized his person, together with Gueret professor of a nonsensical jargon which they called philosophy, and of which Chatel had been long time student. Guignard was hanged and burnt ; but Gueret, having confessed nothing upon the rack, was only sen-

tenced to be banished the kingdom, with the rest of the Jesuits.

Surely prejudice must raise a very thick mist before one's eyes, when Jouvenci the Jesuit, in his history of that society, compares Guignard and Gueret to the primitive Christians persecuted by Nero. He commends Guignard especially for having refused to ask pardon of the king and of justice, when he underwent the *honorable amende* † with the torch in his hand and his writings at his back. He represents as a martyr this man who asks forgiveness of God, because it is possible he might be a sinner; but who could not against his conscience acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more, than by teaching that he ought to be assassinated; unless he had committed the assassination? Jouvenci looks upon the decree of parliament as a very unjust sentence: *Meminimus*, says he, & *ignoscimus*: *we remember, and we forgive*. It is true, the sentence was severe, but surely it could not be unjust, when we consider the papers of the Jesuit Guignard, the violent principles of Hay another Jesuit, the confession of John Chatel, the writings of Tolletus, Bellarmin, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jesuits of Naples, and so many other pieces, in which this doctrine of king-killing is established. It is very true that no particular Jesuit had ever advised Chatel to commit this act; yet it is also true that while he studied among them he had heard this doctrine, which at that time was but too common.

How can the banishment of the Jesuits be looked upon as unjust in those days, when we don't com-

† An ignominious kind of punishment, inflicted on high offenders in France.

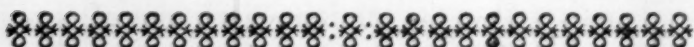
plain of the sentence of exile inflicted upon John Chatel's father and mother, though guilty of no other offence, than of bringing into the world a wretch whose head was turned? Those unfortunate parents were fined and banished, their house was demolished, and on the spot where it stood a pyramid was erected, on which the crime and the sentence were engraved. This inscription mentioned, *that the court had likewise sentenced to perpetual banishment this society of late invention, this spawn of diabolical superstition, for having excited John Chatel to commit that horrid parricide.* It is further worthy of observation, that the sentence of parliament was put into the *Index* at Rome. Hence it appears that those were fanatic times; that though the Jesuits might not teach a more horrid doctrine than the rest, yet they seemed to be a more dangerous set of men, because they had the care of the education of youth; that they were punished for past faults, which three years before were not looked upon at Paris as criminal; in a word, that the calamity of the times rendered this decree of parliament necessary.

How frightful soever this example, still it did not destroy the spirit of the league, to which Henry IV at length fell a sacrifice. Ravaillac had been for some time a monk of the order of Feuillants, and his imagination was still heated with the notions he had imbibed in his youth. Never did superstition in any age produce such effects. This wretch believed, exactly like John Chatel, that he should appease the divine wrath by the murder of Henry IV. The common people had a notion that the king intended to wage war against the pope, because he was going to assist the protestants

protestants of Germany. The empire was divided into two leagues; one the evangelical, composed of all the protestant princes; the other the catholic, to which they had prefixed the pope's name. Henry IV protected the protestant league; and this was the only cause of his assassination. We must give credit to the constant depositions of Ravaillac. He protested, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice; that he had been excited to commit this parricide by an irresistible impulse. He signed his interrogatory, a few leaves of which were found in 1720 by one of the registers in parliament: I have had a sight of them; the abominable name is very well wrote; and underneath in the same hand-writing are these words, *Let Jesus be ever victorious in my heart*; a further proof that this monster was a fanatic. That such a man should have bereft France of Henry IV, and changed the face of Europe, is a strong example of human destiny. There are those who have dared to impute this crime to the house of Austria, to Mary de Medicis the king's wife, to Balzac d'Entragues his mistress, to the duke d'Epemon; conjectures most odious, which Mezeray and others have taken up without inquiry, but which destroy one another, and only serve to shew how credulous is human malignity.

Ravaillac was only the blind tool of the superstitious spirit of the times. Barriere, Châtel, Ouin the Carthusian, the vicar of *S. Nicholas of the fields* hanged in 1595, the tapestry-maker in 1596, a wretch who was either really, or pretended to be, out of his senses, and others whose names have escaped my memory, attempted the same crime; most of them young
B 2 men,

men, and of the dregs of the nation; so true it is that in young people of the lower class, religion degenerates into madness. Of all the assassins this shocking age produced, not one but Poltrot de Meré was a gentleman.



C H A P. CXLIV.

Of France under Lewis XIII till the administration of cardinal Richelieu. States-general held in France. Unfortunate administration. The marshal d'Ancre assassinated; his wife condemned to be burnt. Administration of the duke de Luines. Civil wars. In what manner cardinal Richelieu was admitted into the council.

AFTER the death of Henry IV it appeared how greatly the power, the respect, the manners, and spirit of a nation depend oftentimes on one man. The mild yet steady administration of this prince had kept all the different orders of the realm united, all factions lulled to sleep, the two religions in peace, and plenty among the people. By his alliances, his treasures, and his arms, he held the balance of Europe in his own hands. The very first year of the regency of his widow Mary de Medicis, all those advantages were lost. The duke d'Epemon, that proud favourite of Henry III, in private an enemy to Henry IV, in public to his ministers, repairs to parliament the very day the king was murdered. D'Epemon was colonel-general of infantry; and had the command of the regiment of guards: entering

tering the assembly, he lays hold of the hilt of his sword, and obliges the parliament to assume the right of disposing of the regency, a right which had hitherto belonged only to the states-general. The laws of all nations have determined, that they who nominate to the throne, when vacant, should appoint a regency. To make a king is the first of rights; to appoint a regent is the second, and supposeth the first. The parliament of Paris adjudged the cause of the throne, as arbiters of the supreme power, because they were menaced by the duke d'Epemon, and there was not time sufficient to assemble the three orders of the kingdom.

They decreed Mary de Medicis sole regent. The queen went the next day to get this decree confirmed in her son's presence; and the chancellor de Sillery, at the *bed of justice*, § took the votes of the presidents before those of the peers, and even of the princes of the blood, who pretended to share the regency.

Hereby it appears, and we have often observed it, in what manner rights and usages are established, how that which has been solemnly transacted, contrary to ancient practice, becomes a precedent hereafter, till some new occasion abolishes it.

Mary de Medicis, regent but not mistress of the kingdom, willing to raise a number of dependants, squanders away all the money, that Henry the great had amassed, with a view of extending the power and influence of his kingdom. The troops which he was going to head, are for the most part disbanded; and the princes whom he supported, are forsaken. Charles Emmanuel duke of Savoy, the

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§ The *bed of justice* is when the king takes his seat in parliament, which is only upon extraordinary emergencies of state.

new ally of Henry IV, is obliged to beg pardon of Philip III king of Spain, for having concluded a treaty with the king of France; he sends his son to Madrid to implore mercy of that court, and to humble himself like a subject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thousand men, are now but feebly assisted. The kingdom loseth all its weight abroad, and is disturbed at home. The princes of the blood and the great lords divide the country into factions, just as in the times of Francis II, of Charles IX, of Henry III, and afterwards in the minority of Lewis XIV.

1614. At length the last assembly of the states-general was held at Paris. The parliament could not have a seat there. Their deputies had assisted at the great assembly of the chief men of the kingdom held at Rouen in 1594: but that was not an assembly of the states-general; the intendants of the revenue and the treasurers had sat there in the quality of magistrates.

The university of Paris sent a formal summons to the ecclesiastical chamber, to admit her as a member of the states; this she said was her ancient privilege: but she had lost her privileges, together with her weight, in proportion as people grew more subtle, though not more knowing. Those tumultuary assemblies had not the deposit of the laws and customs like the British parliament, or the diet of the empire: they constituted no part of the legislature; yet they would fain be legislators: this is a power to which the representative body of a nation ever aspires, because a
general

general ambition ariseth from the secret views of each individual.

What was more remarkable in this assembly, the clergy in vain demanded that the council of Trent should be received in France; and the third estate likewise in vain demanded the publication of the following law, *That no temporal or spiritual power has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and that the opinion which makes it lawful to take away the lives of kings, is impious and detestable.*

And yet this third estate of Paris, that demanded this law, was the very same that had attempted to depose Henry III, and that chose to suffer rather the extremity of famine than to acknowledge Henry IV. But the faction of the league was extinguished; and the third estate, being composed of the body of the people, who can be warped by no private interest, loved the throne, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. On this occasion cardinal Perron forgot what he owed to the family of Henry IV, and thought of nothing but the church. He made a strong opposition to the law above-mentioned, and went so far as to say, *that he should be obliged to excommunicate those, who would be so obstinate, as to maintain that the church has not a deposing power.* He further added, *that the popes had full and superabundant authority over princes, directly in spirituals, and indirectly in temporals.* The ecclesiastical chamber, being governed by cardinal Perron, persuaded the chamber of the nobility to join with them. The body of the nobles had been ever jealous of the clergy; yet

they affected to think differently from the third estate. The question was, whether *the spiritual and temporal powers* could dispose of the crown. The body of the nobles looked upon themselves in the main, and without saying it, as a temporal power. The cardinal told them, *that if a king wanted to compel his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed.* Such a speech was very unreasonable; for there have been a great many Arian emperors and kings, and yet none were deposed on that account. This supposition, chimerical as it is, persuaded the deputies of the nobility, that there were particular cases in which the chief men of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this power, how distant soever, was so flattering to human vanity, that the nobles would fain share it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical chamber declared to the third estate, that indeed it was never lawful to kill the king; but they continued resolute as to every thing else.

During this strange dispute the parliament published a decree, whereby *the absolute independence of the throne* was declared *a fundamental law of the kingdom.*

Doubtless it was the interest of the ministry to support the demand of the third estate, and the decree of parliament, after so many disturbances which had endangered the throne under the precedent reigns. Yet they gave way to cardinal Perron, to the clergy, and especially to Rome, with which they were willing to keep fair: they smothered an opinion on which the security of the crown is founded, because they fancied it would never be combated by overt acts, and they
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were willing to put an end to disputes already grown too delicate and odious. They even suppressed the decree of parliament, under pretence that this court had no right to determine matters of state, that they had not shewn due respect to the crown, and it was not their business to enact fundamental laws. Thus the government rejected the assistance of those who had taken up arms in their cause, presuming they should never want them; in a word, the result of this assembly was to take notice of the several abuses of the kingdom, without being able to reform any.

France was left in confusion, under the administration of the Florentine Concini, who was made marshal of France without having ever drawn a sword, and first minister without knowing the laws of the kingdom. His being a foreigner was reason enough for the princes to find fault with him.

Mary de Medicis was very unfortunate; for she could neither share her authority with the prince of Condé, the chief of the malecontents, without intirely losing it; nor trust Concini with it, without disobliging the whole kingdom. Henry prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and son of him who had gained the battle of Coutras along with Henry IV, puts himself at the head of a party, and takes up arms. The court concludes a sham peace with him, and sends him to the Bastille.

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, as it was afterwards of his son. His imprisonment increased the number of malecontents. The Guises, heretofore implacable enemies of the Condés, join with them upon this
B 5 occasion.

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occasion. The duke of Vendome, son of Henry IV; the duke of Nevers, of the house of Gonzaga; the marshal de Bouillon; in a word, all the discontented lords begin to strengthen themselves in their several provinces, protesting that they are serving their king, and have no intention to wage war against any body but the prime minister.

The marshal d'Ancre, secure of the queen's protection, sets them all at defiance. He raises seven thousand men at his own expence, in order to maintain the royal, or rather his own, authority; and this was what ruined him. It is true he raised those troops under the king's commission; but it was one of the great grievances of the state, that a foreigner who came to France without any fortune, should have wherewithal to muster up as strong an army, as those with which Henry IV had reconquered his kingdom. Almost the whole nation was against him, but could not pull him down: yet a young man, of whom he had no mistrust, and who was a foreigner like himself, proved the cause of his ruin, and of all the misfortunes of Mary de Medicis.

Charles Albert de Luines, a native of the county of Avignon, having been admitted with both his brothers among the gentlemen in ordinary that had the government of the young king, introduced himself into the familiarity of that prince, by his dexterity in bird catching. Little was it expected that those innocent amusements would terminate in a bloody revolution. The marshal d'Ancre had obtained the government of Amboise for de Luines, thinking by that means to secure him in his interest: but the ungrateful

grateful youth formed a design of murdering his benefactor, of banishing the queen, and of governing the king; all which he easily compassed. He soon persuades his majesty, that he is capable of taking the reins of government into his own hands, though he was only sixteen years and a half old; telling him that the queen his mother and Concini kept him in leading strings. The young king, who had been entitled the *just* even from his infancy, consents to the murder of his prime minister. The marquis de Vitri, captain ^{1617.} of the guards, his brother du Hallier, Persan, and some others, fire at him with their pistols, and kill him in the very palace of the Louvre. The murderers cry out, *vive le roy*, as if they had won a battle. Lewis XIII puts his head out of the window, and says, *Now I am king*. The queen mother's guards are removed, and disarmed; she herself is confined to her apartment, and at length exiled to Blois. The post of marshal of France, which Concini had enjoyed, is bestowed upon Vitri his murderer. The queen had given the same reward to Themines, for arresting the prince of Condé: this made the marshal duke de Bouillon say, that he was ashamed to be a marshal of France, since this dignity was the recompence of a bailiff, and of an assassin.

The mob, who are generally in extremes, and ever barbarous when the reins of government are slackened, went and pulled the dead carcase of Concini, which had been buried at S. Germain L'Auxerrois, out of the ground, and dragged it through the streets: they plucked out his heart, when some of them were so savage as to broil it publicly on a coal fire, and to eat it; after

which they hung his body upon a gibbet. There was still a spirit of ferocity in the nation, which the flourishing days of Henry IV, and the polite arts introduced by Mary de Medicis, had somewhat softened: but it would break out again on the least occasion. The bloody remains of the marshal d'Ancre were treated thus by the populace, only because he was a foreigner, and had been invested with power.

The history of the celebrated Nani, the memoirs of the marshal d'Etrée, and of the count de Brienne, do justice to Concini's merit, and to innocence. These authorities contribute to instruct the living, though they can be of no service to such as have been put to a cruel and unjust death.

This transport of hatred was not confined to the people: a commission is sent to the parliament to condemn the marshal after his decease, to bring his wife Eleanor Galigai to her trial, and to cover the infamy of an assassination with the cruelty of juridical forms. Five counsellors of the parliament refused to be present at this sentence; but this shews that there were only five prudent members of that body.

Never was any proceeding more wide from equity, nor more shocking to good sense. There was nothing to lay to the charge of the marshal's lady; she had been the queen's favourite, and that was all her crime. They accused her of witchcraft; and the *agnus Dei's* † she had about her, were taken for *talismans**. Courtin, one of the
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† The figure of a lamb, holding a cross, stamp'd upon white wax in an oval form, which being blessed by the pope, is given as a relick.

* A magical character, supposed to be certain figures engraved under several superstitious observations of the dispositions of the heavens, to which some attribute wonderful virtues.

the judges, asked her, what charm she had made use of to bewitch the queen? Galigai full of indignation against the judge, and somewhat dissatisfied with Mary de Medicis, made answer: *My witchcraft was the superiority, which people of sense have over weak minds.* This answer did not save her; some of the judges had understanding and justice enough not to condemn her to death; but the rest hurried away by the public prejudice, by ignorance, and still more by those who were impatient to get the spoils of those unfortunates, passed sentence at the same time on the husband 1617. already deceased, and on the wife, as persons convicted of forcery, of judaism, and of misdemeanours. The marshal's lady was burnt, and Luines the royal minion had the confiscated estate.

This unfortunate Galigai had been the first promoter of cardinal Richelieu, when he was yet a young man, and known by the name of the *abbè du Chillon*: she obtained the bishopric of Luçon for him, and the post of secretary of state in 1616. He was involved in the disgrace of his patrons; and he who afterwards issued sentence of exile on such numbers from the throne, where he sat near his royal master, was banished to a little priory in a corner of Anjou.

Concini, without having served in the army, had been marshal of France; and Luines, though scarce an officer, was four years afterwards made constable. Such an administration created contempt; the grandees and the people fell into factions, and there is nothing they did not dare to undertake.

The duke d'Epemon who had been the cause of conferring the regency on the queen, released her from the castle of Blois to which she had

1619. had been banished ; and conducted her to his estate at Angouleme, like a sovereign assisting his ally.

This was certainly a treasonable act, yet an act applauded by the whole kingdom, and that covered the duke d'Epemon with glory. Mary de Medicis had been hated in her prosperity ; but now she was beloved in her adversity. Not one man in the kingdom had made the least complaint, when Lewis XIII emprisoned his mother in the Louvre, and afterwards banished her without a cause ; and now the attempting to recover her from out of the hands of a rebel, was treated as a flagitious deed. Such apprehensions had the public of the violent counsels of de Luines, and of the cruelty and weakness of the king, that his own confessor, Arnoux the Jesuit, preaching in his presence before the reconciliation, spoke these remarkable words : *It is not to be supposed that a religious prince would draw his sword, to spill the very blood from whence he was formed : you will not permit me, sire, to assert a lye from the seat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Christ, not to listen to violent counsels, nor to give this scandal to all the Christian princes in Europe.*

It is a further proof of the weakness of the government, that any man durst to speak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expressed himself in stronger terms, even if the king had condemned his mother to death. At that time Lewis XIII had hardly an army to oppose the duke d'Epemon. This was preaching publicly against the government ; it was speaking on the behalf of God against the duke de Luines. Either this confessor must have been
possessed

possessed of an heroic though indiscreet freedom; or he must have been bribed by Mary de Medicis. Whatever might be his motive, this public discourse sheweth that there was a noble boldness at that time, even in men who seemed framed only for soft compliance. The constable some years after made the king send away his confessor.

The king however, far from going those violent lengths which were apprehended, courted his mother, and treated with the duke d'Epernon, as with a crowned head. He durst not even say in his declaration, that d'Epernon had offended 1619. him.

No sooner had the treaty of reconciliation been signed, but it was broke; this was the spirit of the times. New partisans of the queen mother were up in arms; their complaints were always against the duke de Luines, as before against the marshal d'Ancre, but never against the king. Each favorite in those days proved the source of a civil war. Lewis XIII and his mother did really wage war against each other. Mary de Medicis was in Anjou at the head of a small army to oppose her son; a battle was fought at the bridge of Cé; and the state was upon the point of being ruined.

This confusion made the celebrated Richelieu's fortune. He was steward of the queen mother's household, and had supplanted all the favorites of that princess, as he afterwards supplanted all the king's ministers. His pliant temper and enterprising genius must have raised him to the highest post, or destroyed him. He conducted the reconcilment betwixt the mother and son. His elevation to the cardinalate, which the queen demanded and obtained with some difficul-

ty for him, was the recompence of this piece of service. The duke d'Epemon was the first to lay down his arms, but asked nothing: all the rest made the king pay them, for having bore arms against his majesty.

The queen and the king her son had an interview at Brissac: they embraced each other with tears, but quarreled afterwards more than ever. Such weakness, such intrigues and divisions at court, had like to have introduced anarchy into the kingdom. All the internal vices which had been long undermining the state, were increased; and those which Henry IV had extirpated, were revived.

The church suffered greatly, and was fallen into excessive irregularities. It was not the interest of Henry IV to reform them: the ill-judged devotion of Lewis XIII permitted the disorder to continue: rule and decency were not introduced till the reign of Lewis XIV. Almost all the incumbents were laymen, who allowed a salary to poor priests to officiate on their livings. The princes of the blood were possessed of rich abbeys. A great many benefices were considered as family estates. It was usual to settle an abbey in portion for a daughter; and for a colonel to remount his regiment with the revenue of a priory. The court clergy oftentimes wore a sword: amongst the duels or private combats which depopulated France, they reckoned several in which the clergy were concerned, from the cardinal de Guise, who drew his sword against the duke of Nevers Gonzaga in 1617, down to the abbé and afterwards cardinal de Retz, who fought a great many duels while
he

he was soliciting the archbishopsrick of Paris. The minds of people in general were still rude and uncultivated. The genius of the Malherbes and the Racans was only a dawn of light, which did not diffuse itself over the nation. A rustic pedantry, companion of that ignorance which passed in those days for science, soured the manners of the societies appointed for the instruction of youth, and even of the magistrates. One would scarce believe that in the year 1621, the parliament of Paris should issue a decree prohibiting every body upon pain of death, to teach any opinion contrary to Aristotle or the ancient authors; and that a person named de Clave, and his associates, should be banished from Paris, for having attempted to maintain Theses concerning the number of elements, and matter and form, contrary to the principles of Aristotle.

Notwithstanding this severity of manners, and these prohibitions, the administration of justice was venal in most of the courts of judicature in the kingdom. Henry IV had acknowledged it to the parliament of Paris, who have ever distinguished themselves as much by their uncorrupt integrity, as by a spirit of opposition to ministerial pleasure, and pecuniary edicts. *I know, said he to them; that you do not sell the administration of justice, but in other parliaments a person must frequently maintain his right by dint of money: I remember it, and I have often put my hand into my purse myself.*

The nobility either retiring to their strong holds, or mounting on horseback to serve the governor of a province, or enlisting themselves under princes who disturbed the state, oppressed the

the husbandman. The towns were without police, the roads impracticable, and infested with robbers. The parliament rolls make it appear, that the watch, for the security of Paris, at that time consisted only of five and forty men, who did no duty. These irregularities which Henry IV could not reform, were not of the nature of those distempers that tend to destroy the body politic: the distempers really dangerous were the bad management of the revenue, the squandering of the treasure amassed by Henry IV, the necessity of laying duties upon the people, in time of peace, which Henry had declined, when he was at the eve of a war of the utmost importance; the tyrannical method of raising those duties, which enriched none but the farmers of the revenue; the odious estates of those farmers, whom the duke of Sully had banished from court, but who under the succeeding administrations grew fat with the blood of the people.

To those internal disorders under which the body politic languished, were added some others, by which it was often thrown into violent convulsions. The governors of the provinces, who were only lieutenants to Henry IV, would fain be independent of Lewis XIII. Their rights, or usurpations were immense: they had the bestowing of all places; hence the poorer gentry stuck close to them, and hardly minded the king, much less the state. Every governor fleeced his province of as much, as was sufficient to maintain a body of troops, instead of the guard, which Henry IV had taken from them. The province of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke d'Epernon.

We

We have lately beheld this subject protecting the queen mother, waging war against the king, and accepting of peace with the air of a sovereign. The marshal de Lesdiguières had distinguished his own greatness, and the weakness of the throne, three years before in 1616, after a more glorious manner. He raised an army of regular troops at his own expence, or rather at the expence of Dauphiné, a province of which he was not so much as governor, but only lieutenant general; he marched this army over the Alps notwithstanding the repeated prohibitions of the court; he assisted the duke of Savoy, whom France had abandoned, against the Spaniards; and he returned in triumph to his own country. France had then a multitude of great lords, as during the reign of Henry III; a circumstance which only contributed to weaken the monarchy.

It is not at all surprizing, that this kingdom should at that time have missed the fairest opportunity that offered since the reign of Charles V, of limiting the power of the house of Austria, by assisting the elector Palatine, chosen king of Bohemia, and supporting the balance of Germany according to the plan laid down by Henry IV, and afterwards followed by the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine. The court had conceived too great a jealousy of the French protestants, to protect those of Germany. The ministry were afraid lest the Huguenots should act the same part in France, as the Lutherans had done in the empire. But had the government been as well settled and as powerful as it was under Henry IV, or at the latter end of Richelieu's administration, or under Lewis XIV, they might have assisted the
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the protestants of Germany, and kept those of France in subjection. De Luines had no such extensive plan; and could he even have formed it, there was no possibility of his carrying it into execution: it required a perfect submission to authority, finances in good order, and numerous armies; all which were wanting.

The divisions at court under a king, who would fain be absolute over his people, while he himself was governed by a minister, had diffused the spirit of sedition through all the towns in the kingdom. It was impossible but this combustion must sooner or later communicate itself to the Calvinists of France. This the court were afraid of; and their fear was owing to their weak situation: they were sensible that their commands would be disobeyed; and yet they would command.

1620. At that time Lewis XIII was uniting the country of Bearn to the crown by a solemn edict: the Catholics were restored to the possession of the churches, which the Huguenots had seized before the reign of Henry IV, and which had been relinquished to them by that monarch. These people appoint an assembly at Rochelle in contempt of the king's prohibition. The love of liberty so natural to mankind, had inspired them with republican ideas; they had before their eyes the example of the Lutherans of Germany, and their imaginations were grown warm. They had divided the French provinces, where they were most numerous, into ten circles: each circle had a general as in Germany: and among those generals were the marshal of Bouillon, the duke of Soubise, the duke de la Trimouille, Châtillon

tillon grandson of the admiral Coligni, and the marshal de Lesdiguières. The general commander whom they were to chuse in case of war, was to have a seal with these words ingraven, *For Christ and for the king*, that is against the king. Rochelle was then considered as the capital of this republic, which might be able to form a separate state within the kingdom.

The protestants from this very time were preparing for war. It is plain they were powerful, since they offered the post of general to marshal de Lesdiguières, with an appointment of a hundred thousand crowns a month. Lesdiguières ambitious of being constable of France, chose rather to fight against them, than to command their army, and soon after he deserted their religion: but he found himself disappointed of his expectations at court. The duke de Luines, who had never drawn a sword, took the post of constable to himself; and Lesdiguières being too far engaged, was obliged to serve under de Luines against the reformed, though he had been hitherto their chief support.

The court was under a necessity of negotiating with all the leading men of the party, in order to keep them within bounds; and with all the governors of the provinces to make them furnish troops. Lewis XIII marches towards the Loire into Poitou, to Bearn, and to the southern provinces; the prince of Condé puts himself at the head of a body of troops; and the constable de Luines commands the royal army.

At that time they revived an ancient formality, now intirely abolished. When they drew near to
I a town,

a town, where a suspected person commanded, a herald presented himself before the gate; the governor listened to him with his head uncovered, and the herald cried out, *To thee, Isaac, or Jacob such an one; the king thy sovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates to him, and to receive, as thou art in duty bound, both him and his army: in failure whereof I declare thee guilty of high treason, and degraded of thy nobility, thee and thy posterity; thy goods shall be confiscated, thy houses, and those of thy accomplices, levelled to the ground.*

Almost all the towns opened their gates to the king, except St. John d'Angeli, whose fortifications he demolished; and the little town of Clerac, which surrendered at discretion. The court
1621. elated with this success, ordered the consul of Clerac and four pastors to be hanged.

This execution instead of intimidating, only irritated the Huguenots. Pressed on every side, and deserted by the marshals de Lesdiguières and de Bouillon, they chose for their general the celebrated duke Benjamin of Rohan, who was looked upon as one of the greatest captains of his age, comparable to the princes of Orange, as capable as they of founding a republic, more zealous, at least in appearance, than they for his religion, a man vigilant, and indefatigable, allowing himself no pleasures to divert him from business, and formed by nature to be the head of a party; a post ever dangerous, where both friends and enemies are to be suspected. This title and rank of a party leader, had been long the study and aim of the ambitious throughout all Europe. The Guelfs and the Gibelins began in Italy. The Guises
and

and the Colignis established afterwards a political school of this kind in France, which was continued till the minority of Lewis XIV.

Lewis XIII saw himself reduced to the necessity of besieging his own towns. The constable de Luines thought he should succeed before Montauban, as he had done before Clerac; but he ^{1621.} lost very near his whole army, though his royal master commanded there in person.

Montauban was a place that would not hold out a siege of four days in our time; and so unskilfully was it invested, that the duke of Rohan flung succours into it twice, through the lines of the besiegers. The marquis de la Force, who commanded in the town, shewed more judgment in defending, than the enemy in attacking. This was the same James Nonpar de la Force, who had been so surprizingly preserved in his infancy from the massacre of S. Bartholomew, and who was afterwards made marshal of France by Lewis XIII. The inhabitants of Montauban, grown desperate by the example of Clerac, were determined sooner to bury themselves under the ruins of the town, than to surrender.

The constable unable to carry his point by temporal arms, had recourse to spiritual. He sent for a Spanish Carmelite, who was said to have contributed to the victory of the Imperial army of catholics in the neighbourhood of Prague, over the protestants under the elector Palatine. The Carmelite, whose name was Dominic, arrived at the camp, gave his benediction to the army, distributed *Agnus Dei's*, and said to the king, *You are to fire four hundred cannon shot, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate.* Perhaps four
hundred

hundred cannon balls well directed, might have produced this effect: Lewis ordered the cannon to be fired; but Montauban did not capitulate; so that he was obliged to raise the siege.

This affront rendered the king less respectable to the Catholics, and less formidable to the Huguenots. The constable was odious to all the world. He took the king with him to wreak his vengeance for the disgrace before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur; where a fever put an end to his life. So usual a thing was pillage and robbery in those days, that as he was a dying he saw himself plundered of his furniture, his equipage, and money, by his domestics, and soldiers. There was hardly a winding sheet left to bury the most powerful man in the kingdom, who with one hand had held the constable's sword, and with the other the seals of France: he died hated by the people and by his master.

Dec.
1621.

Lewis XIII was unfortunately engaged in a war against part of his own subjects. The duke de Luines designed this war, to keep his master embarrassed; and to raise himself to the post of constable of France. The king had been accustomed to look upon the war as indispensable. The remonstrance which du Pleffis-Mornay made him, at very near fourscore years of age, deserves to be transmitted to posterity. After exhausting the most specious arguments, he wrote to him in these terms: *For a king to wage war against his subjects, is only a mark of weakness. Authority depends on the peaceful submission of the people; and is established by the prudence and justice of him who governs. Military force ought not to be exerted but against*

against a foreign enemy. The late king would have sent these new statesman to school, to learn their political elements: they are like unskilful surgeons, who have no other remedies to propose but caustics and amputations, and would advise a man to cut off a sound arm together with that which is mortified.

The court were not persuaded by these reasons. The mortified arm threw the body into too many convulsions; so that Lewis XIII, not having the same strength of mind as his father, who kept the protestants within bounds, thought he should be able to reduce them no other way than by force of arms. He therefore marches again into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a small army of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men. A few more regiments were quartered in those provinces. The bad state of the revenue did not permit the raising of a larger army; but the Huguenots had not a stronger body to oppose them.

Soubise, the duke of Rohan's brother, entrenches himself with eight thousand men in the isle of Rhé, which is separated from the lower Poitou by a small arm of the sea. The king crosses over at the head of his army at low water, intirely defeats the enemy, and compels Soubise to retire to ^{1622.} England. It was impossible to shew greater intrepidity, or to gain a completer victory. This prince had hardly any other foible than that of being governed by favourites; a foible which, in his public and private affairs, and even in his most trifling amusements, rendered him unhappy all his life. With regard to his victory, it only excited the Calvinist leaders to look out for new resources.

Still both sides negotiated more than they fought, as had been the case at the time of the league, and in all the civil wars. Many a rebel lord, condemned to death by parliament, obtained rewards and honours while he was executed in effigy. This happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from before Montauban, and who still kept the field against his majesty. He had a present of two hundred thousand crowns, with a marshal's staff. A higher price would not have been paid for the most eminent services. Chatillon, grandson of the admiral Coligni, sold the town of Aiguemortes to the king, and was likewise made marshal. Several others set their obedience to sale: Lesdiguières alone disposed of his religion. Possessed at that time of strong holds in Dauphiné, and still professing the reformed religion, he suffered himself to be openly solicited by the Huguenots to return to their party, while he left the king in suspense whether he would not comply with their desire.

1622. It was proposed in council either to kill him or to make him constable: the king preferred the latter; and Lesdiguières in an instant turned catholic. This was a necessary step for the post of constable, but not for being marshal of France: custom had settled it so. The constable's sword might have been in the hands of an Huguenot, as the administration of the finances had been for a long time: but it was unfit that he who had the command of the king's armies, and the chief direction in council, should profess the religion of the Calvinists, at the same time that he was combating their party. Such a recantation as that of Lesdiguières would have disgraced any private person,
who

who had been actuated by a paltry interest; but in higher pursuits of ambition, men are strangers to shame.

Thus was Lewis XIII incessantly obliged to bribe his servants, and to negotiate with rebels. He laid siege to Montpellier; but apprehensive of the same disgrace as that which he had met with before Montauban, he consented to be admitted into the town, on condition of confirming the edict of Nantes, together with all their privileges. One would imagine that, by leaving the rest of the protestant towns in possession of their rights, and by following the counsel of du Plessis Mornay, he might have got rid of the war; and we find that, notwithstanding his victory in the isle of Rhé, he gained very little by its continuance.

The duke of Rohan, perceiving that all the world were negotiating, followed the general example. It was he that prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpellier to admit the king into the town. He set on foot, and concluded at Privas, a general peace with the constable de Lesdiguières. The king paid him as he had done the rest, and gave him the dukedom of Valois as a security. ^{1622.}

Things were left on the footing they stood before the protestants had recourse to arms. Thus the king and the nation were at a vast expence for nothing. A few poor wretches were hanged in the course of the war, while the heads of the rebellion came off with rewards.

During these commotions the council of Lewis XIII had been as much divided as the kingdom. The prince of Condé attended the king, and would fain command the army and the state.

The ministers could not agree; they had pressed his majesty to confer the office of constable on Lesdiguières, merely to abate the authority of the prince of Condé. Tired of quarrelling in the cabinet, the prince went to Rome, as soon as peace was concluded, to solicit a brief for rendering the benefices he possessed, hereditary in his family. He might have transmitted them to his posterity without this brief, which he never obtained. Scarce could he prevail upon the court of Rome to give him the title of Highness; and the cardinal priests made no difficulty to take precedence of him. Such was the fruit of his Roman journey.

The court eased of the burden of a ruinous civil war, fell a prey to new intrigues. The ministers were at open variance with one another; and the king mistrusted them all.

After the death of the constable de Luines, it appeared very plain, that the persecution of the queen-mother had been more owing to that minister than to his majesty. This princess presided in council as soon as the favourite expired. The better to establish her reviving authority, she would fain make cardinal Richelieu, who was her favourite, steward of the household, and indebted to her for the purple, a member of the council. Reckoning to govern through his means, she solicited the king to admit him into the ministry. Almost all the memoirs of that time mention the king's repugnance. The man in whom he afterwards reposed his whole confidence, he now treated as a knave; and continually found fault with his morals.

This

This bigotted prince, full of scruple and fuspicon, had a mortal aversion to the cardinal's amours, which were publicly known, and attended with ridiculous circumstances. He used to dress like a cavalier; and after writing on theology, he would make love in the character of a beau. By the memoirs of cardinal de Retz it appears, that there was a mixture of pedantry with this air of ridicule. But there is no necessity for this testimony of de Retz, since we have seen the love theses, which Richelieu caused to be defended at his niece's, in the nature of theological theses in the schools of Sorbonne. The memoirs of the time inform us further, that he carried his presumptuous desires, whether real or fictitious, as high as the reigning queen, Anne of Austria, and that he never forgave the raileries he underwent upon that score. I take notice of these anecdotes, because they had a great influence on important events. In the first place they shew us, that the ridiculous gallantry of this celebrated cardinal, did not in the least diminish the greatness of the statesman, and that the foibles of private life may very well be united with public heroism. Secondly, they are a kind of demonstration, among many others, that the political testament published in his name cannot be written by him. It was impossible for cardinal Richelieu, with whose amorous intrigues Lewis XIII was but too well acquainted, or for the known lover of Marion Delorme, to have the front to recommend chastity to the chaste Lewis the XIII, at that time forty years old, and loaded with infirmities.

April
29.
1024.

So strong was the king's repugnance to admit him, that the queen was obliged to draw in the superintendent* la Vieuville, who at that time had the chief weight in the ministry, and who was much more afraid than Lewis XIII of cardinal Richelieu. At length he got a share in the administration against the inclination of the king and the other members. But he had neither the precedency nor first seat, which was still possessed by the cardinal de la Rochefoucault; nor the chief weight, which la Vieuville preserved for some time: in short he had no department, no superiority over the rest; *All he desired*, said queen Mary de Medicis in a letter to the king her son, *was sometimes to take his seat in council.* Thus he passed the first months after his admittance into the ministry.

I am not ignorant how little these particulars of themselves deserve to attract our attention, which should be fixed only on great and important events: but here they are necessary, in order to destroy the public prejudice so long subsisting, that cardinal Richelieu was prime minister and absolute master, as soon as he became member of the council. It is this very prejudice that drew these words from the imposing author of the Political Testament; *When your majesty resolved to grant me admittance into your council, and at the same time a great share of your confidence, I promised you I should employ all my attention to humble the pride of the nobility, to destroy the Huguenots, and to raise your reputation in foreign countries.*

It is evident that the cardinal could not speak in this manner, since he had not the king's confi-

* The superintendent in France is the prime manager and director of the finances.

dence in the beginning. I shall not take notice of the imprudence of a minister, who sets out with telling his master, *that he will raise his reputation*, and with making him sensible that his reputation was low. Neither shall I enter into a multitude of invincible arguments, by which it is proved that the Political Testament attributed to Richelieu cannot possibly be the production of that cardinal : but I return to his administration.

What was afterwards said in regard to his Mausoleum erected in the Sorbonne, *magnum disputandi argumentum*, is the real character of his abilities and administration. It is extremely difficult to have a right idea of a man, who has been so much flattered by friends, and abused by enemies. He had to contend with the house of Austria, with the Calvinists, with the grandees of the kingdom, with his benefactress the queen-mother, with the king's brother, with the queen-consort whom he once dared to make love to, and, in short, with the king himself, to whom he was ever useful, and often odious. It was impossible but some would defame him by libels : he therefore took care to have them answered by panegyrics. We must not give credit to either, but take an impartial view of facts.

In order to ascertain those facts, we ought to make a proper choice of books. What can any body think, for instance, of the writer of father Joseph's life, who gives us a letter from the cardinal to that famous Capuchin, penned, as he says, immediately after his being admitted into the council : " As you are the principal instrument, that God has made use of to conduct me through all the honours to which I see myself raised, I
" am

“ am obliged to inform you, that the king has
 “ been pleased to confer the post of prime mi-
 “ nister upon me at the queen’s entreaty.”

The cardinal did not receive his patent of prime minister till 1629, and Joseph the Capuchin had neither conducted him to nor through honours.

Most books abound with the like suppositions ; so that it is no small labour to discriminate truth from falsehood. Let us here give an abstract of the tempestuous ministry, or rather the reign of cardinal Richelieu.



C H A P. CXLV.

Of cardinal Richelieu’s administration.

THE superintendent la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to cardinal Richelieu to step into the administration, was the first man he crushed, at the end of six months. He was privately accused of misdemeanours, a charge that may be brought at any time against a superintendent.

La Vieuville owed his greatness to the chancellor de Silleri, and had been the cause of his disgrace. He is ruined in his turn by the man, who was indebted to him for his preferment. These vicissitudes, so common in all courts, were still more so in that of Lewis XIII. This minister is imprisoned in the castle of Amboise. He had begun the treaty of marriage between Henrietta, sister of Lewis XIII, and Charles prince of Wales, afterwards king of Great-Britain. The cardinal finished the treaty in spite of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He

He favours underhand the protestants of Germany, at the same time that he has formed a design to oppress those of France.

Before his administration, treaties had been set on foot to no purpose, with all the princes of Italy, to prevent the house of Austria, at that time very powerful, from becoming mistress of the Valteline.

This small province professed the catholic religion, and belonged to the Grisons, who are protestants §. The Spaniards wanted to join those valleys to the Milanese. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, were for opposing any aggrandizement of the house of Austria in Italy. At length pope Urban VIII obtained the sequestration of this province into his hands, and he did not despair to keep it.

Monsieur de Marquemont writes a long letter to Richelieu, wherein he exposes the several difficulties of this important affair. The cardinal sends him this celebrated answer: *The king has changed his council, and the ministry their maxims: an army shall be sent to the Valteline, which will render the pope less dubious, and the Spaniards more tractable.* Accordingly the marquis de Cœuvres enters the Valteline with an army. No respect is paid to the pope's colours; and the country is rescued from an Austrian invasion. This was the first step towards restoring France to its due weight and influence in Europe.

§ This is not altogether exact: the Roman catholic religion is as much established as the reformed, in each of the three leagues: but as most of the communities which compose the three leagues, profess the reformed religion, and as every thing is determined in the general assembly by a plurality of voices, we may consider this republic as a protestant state.

The preceding ministers had ever wanted money, Richelieu lends three millions two hundred thousand livres to the Dutch, to enable them to maintain the war against the Spanish branch of Austria their antient sovereign. He sends supplies to that famous count Mansfeldt, who almost singly maintained the cause of the elector Palatine, and of the German protestants, against the imperial family.

After arming the foreign protestants in this manner, it was natural to expect that the Spanish ministry would stir up those of France, and return them (as Mirabel the Spanish ambassador expressed himself) the money given to the Dutch. Accordingly the Huguenots, excited and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war. Ever since the time of Charles V and Francis I, that barbarous policy has prevailed among catholic princes, of supporting protestants abroad, and persecuting them at home. During this new war against the duke of Rohan and his party, the cardinal continues to negotiate with the powers whom he had affronted; and neither the emperor Ferdinand II, nor Philip IV king of Spain, commence hostilities against France.

Rochelle was growing powerful. She had very near as many ships as the king; and was ambitious of imitating the example of Holland; which she might have compassed, had she found allies, among foreign nations of her own religion. But cardinal Richelieu contrived to arm against her those very Dutch, whose religious interests should have determined them to the other side; and even to engage the English in the same cause, though it seemed to be much more their
their

their interest to defend this city. The money already given, and further promised to the United Provinces, tempted them to fit out a fleet against those whom they called their brethren : so that his catholic majesty was assisting the Calvinists with money, and the Dutch protestants were fighting for the catholic religion ; while cardinal Richelieu was driving the pope's troops out of the Valteline, in favour of the Grisons, a 1625. protestant people.

It is surprizing that Soubise, who had the command of the Rochelle fleet, should venture to attack the Dutch squadron near the isle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over a nation, who were esteemed the best sailors in the world. This success at any other time would have rendered Rochelle a potent republic. 1625.

Lewis XIII had then an admiral and no fleet. The cardinal, at his entering upon the administration, had found every thing wanting, or out of repair ; and it was impossible for him to raise a marine in the space of a twelvemonth. Scarce could he fit out ten or twelve small ships of war. The duke of Montmorenci, at that time admiral, the same who afterwards made so tragical an exit, was obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral ; so that it was by the assistance of Dutch and English ships that the Rochelle fleet was beaten.

This victory convinced the minister of the necessity of rendering his master powerful both by sea and land, since he had the protestant party to subdue in France, and the Austrian power to undermine in Europe. This induced him to grant peace to the Huguenots, in order to have time to settle himself. 1626.

The cardinal had much greater enemies to struggle with at court. Not one prince of the blood loved him. Gaston, brother of Lewis XIII, detested him. Mary de Medicis began to look upon her own creature with a jealous eye. Almost all the grandees were a caballing.

1616. He deprives the duke of Montmorenci of the post of admiral, and takes it to himself under another name; which renders the duke his implacable enemy. Two sons of Henry IV, Cæsar of Vendome and the grand prior, oppose his will; and he orders them to be imprisoned at Vincennes. Marshal Ornano and Tallérand Chalais set Gaston against him. The cardinal not only charges them with conspiring against the king; but involves the count of Soissons, Gaston the king's brother, and even the queen-consort, in the conspiracy.

One time depositions are made that their design was to assassinate his majesty; another time that they proposed to declare him impotent, then to confine him in a monastery, and to marry the queen to Gaston his brother. These two accusations are contradictory to each other, and neither of them was probable. The real crime was their having joined against the minister, and even hinted at taking away his life. Chalais was condemned

1626. by commissaries; and executed at Nants. Marshal Ornano dies at Vincennes: the count of Soissons flies to Italy: the dutchess of Chevreuse, whom the cardinal had once made love to, though now he accused her of entering into the conspiracy against him, was pursued by his guards, and very near being taken; she escaped however with difficulty, and went over to England.
The

The king's brother is watched and ill treated. Anne of Austria is summoned before the council, who forbid her to speak to any man at court but in the presence of the king her husband; and moreover they oblige her to sign a declaration of her guilt.

Suspicion, fear, and desolation, possessed the royal family, and the whole court. Lewis XIII was not the least unhappy man in his kingdom; afraid of his wife and his brother, confounded in the presence of his mother, whom he had heretofore treated so very ill, and who used frequently to let drop expressions that shewed she did not forget it; and confounded still more before the cardinal, whose yoke began to weigh heavy upon him. The crisis of foreign affairs gave him fresh uneasiness; so that the cardinal kept fast hold of him by his fears and apprehensions, as also by the necessity of crushing the conspiracies at home, and of preserving his reputation abroad.

At that time three ministers, equally powerful, determined nearly the fate of Europe; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They all three hated each other, and all three were negotiating to each other's prejudice. Cardinal Richelieu was quarrelling with the duke of Buckingham at the very time that the English were supplying him with ships against Rochelle; and he was entering into a league with the duke of Olivarez, just when he had wrested the Valteline from the king of Spain.

Of these three ministers the duke of Buckingham was reckoned the least politic; he figured as a favourite and as a great lord, frank, open,
and

and daring, but not as a statesman; governing king Charles I, not by intrigue, but by the ascendant he had gained over the father, and which he preserved over the son. He was the handsomest man in his time, and withal the boldest, and the most generous. He fancied that the women could not withstand the charms of his person, nor the men the superiority of his genius. Intoxicated with this double self-love, he had conducted king Charles, then prince of Wales, into Spain, to make him marry an Infanta, and to shine at that court. There it was that, adding Spanish gallantry to English boldness, he made an attack upon the wife of the prime minister Olivarez, by which indiscretion the prince's marriage was broke off. Having afterwards negotiated a match between Charles I and the princess Henrietta, he went over to France in 1625, to conduct the new queen to England; and here he was very near spoiling the affair by a bolder indiscretion. He made his addresses to queen Anne of Austria, not scrupling to declare his love; though he could expect nothing from such an adventure, but the empty honour of having dared to explain himself. The queen, educated in the notions of gallantry at that time permitted in Spain, looked upon this temerity of the duke of Buckingham, only as an homage paid to her beauty, and such as could no way offend her virtue.

The insolence of the duke of Buckingham made a noise, and was displeasing to the court of France; but did not prove a subject of ridicule, the presumption of great personages being never considered in that light. He brought the princess Henrietta

rietta to London, and with her his passion for the queen, which had increased since he had been so vain as to declare it. This vanity made him undertake a second journey to the court of France, under pretence of concluding a treaty against the duke of Olivarez, as the cardinal had made one with Olivarez against England. The true reason, which indeed he did not endeavour to conceal, was to pay his respects to the queen: but this they would not permit him to do; and the king drove away several of his wife's domestics, who were accused of having encouraged the temerity of the duke of Buckingham. This Englishman made his master declare war against France, merely because that court had refused him the liberty of carrying on his amour. Such an adventure seemed more adapted to the times of Amadis de Gaul. So connected and interwoven are the affairs of this world, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of Rochelle. 1627.

Party-leaders improve every circumstance in their favour. The duke of Rohan, as politic in his designs as the Buckingham had been vain in his, obtains, in consequence of the Englishman's resentment, a fleet of a hundred transports. Rochelle and the whole protestant party were quiet: he spirits them up, and persuades the Rochellers to admit the English fleet, not into the town itself, but into the isle of Rhé. The duke of Buckingham makes a descent upon the island with about seven thousand men. They had only one small fort to take, in order to become masters of the island, and to separate Rochelle for ever from France. The protestant party

party would then have been unconquerable. The kingdom must have been divided, and all the cardinal's projects would have vanished into smoke; had the duke of Buckingham been as great, or at least as fortunate, a soldier, as he had shewn himself bold and enterprizing.

July
1627.

The marquis, afterwards marshal, de Thoiras, saved the glory of France, by preserving the isle of Rhé with a few troops, against the English, who were greatly superior in number. This gave Lewis XIII time to send an army before Rochelle. His brother Gaston commands the troops at first; but the king himself soon arrives, attended by the cardinal. Buckingham is obliged to return to England, after he had lost half his men, and not so much as thrown any succours into Rochelle; so that he appeared before the town only to hasten its ruin. The duke of Rohan was absent from this city, which he had spirited up to arms, and exposed to danger. He was maintaining the war in Languedoc, against the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorenci.

These great men were all three fighting for themselves; the duke of Rohan to be perpetual chief of the party; the prince of Condé, at the head of the king's forces, to recover his lost influence at court; the duke of Montmorenci at the head of troops raised by himself and of his own authority, to become absolute master in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to render himself independent, like Lesdiguières. Thus Rochelle finds no other support but herself. The citizens animated by two powerful incentives, religion, and the love of liberty, elected a mayor whose name was Guiton, a man more resolute

solute than themselves. Before he would accept of a post which invested him with the civil and military command, he takes up a poniard, and holding it in his hand, *I accept the post of mayor*, said he, *on condition of plunging this poniard into the breast of the first man that shall propose to surrender; and of my being served in the same manner, if ever I talk of capitulating.*

While Rochelle was preparing to make the most vigorous defence, the cardinal employed every resource to subdue her. Ships were built with the utmost expedition, the troops before the town were reinforced, more artillery was sent for, and even the Spaniards were prevailed on to assist him; for by taking advantage of the aversion of duke of Olivarez against Buckingham, by making a right use of the interests of religion, and by promising every thing the court of Madrid could desire, he obtained a fleet from the king of Spain at that time the natural enemy of France, in order to deprive the Rochellers of all hopes of further assistance from England. The duke of Olivarez sent Frederic of Toledo, with a fleet of forty sail before the harbour of Rochelle.

The Spanish admiral arrived. Would one imagine that a punctilio should defeat the intent of those succours, and that the Spanish fleet should return to their own ports, only because Lewis would not suffer their admiral to be covered ^{1628,} in his presence? Whether this trifle determined ^{1629.} so important an affair, as but too often happens, or whether new differences about the Mantuan succession had soured the court of Madrid, the fleet did but just appear, and sailed back to Spain.

The

The duke of Buckingham prepares a new embarkation to save the town. There was a possibility of his frustrating in a very little time all the endeavours of the king of France. The French court has been constantly of opinion, that to ward off this blow cardinal Richlieu took advantage of that very passion, which Buckingham had for Anne of Austria, and that the queen was desired to write to the duke. She begged of him, as it is said, that he would at least defer the expedition; and it is asserted that his passion got the better of all considerations of honour and glory.

This anecdote may be false; but it has gained such credit, that we could not avoid relating it: we may observe however that it is neither contrary to the character of Buckingham, nor to the spirit of the court; and indeed it is impossible to comprehend how the duke of Buckingham should content himself with sending a few ships, which only appear off the coast of France, and return to England without making any attempt.

Nor is it less surprizing that the cardinal alone should command the siege, in the king's absence. He had a general's commission; and this was his first essay in the military art. He was a proof that resolution and genius are able to surmount the greatest difficulties; being as exact in disciplining the troops, as he had been assiduous in establishing a police at Paris; both of which he found a hard task to compass. It was impossible to take Rochelle, while it continued open to an English fleet; therefore the port must be locked up, and the sea subdued. In the preceding civil war Pompey Targon, an Italian engineer, had contrived a *barri-*
cado

cado † at the time when Lewis XIII wanted to besiege this town, just as the peace was concluded. The cardinal pursues this plan: the ocean oversets his work; yet he is resolved to begin it again. He orders a mole to be made in the sea, about four thousand seven hundred feet long; and the winds destroy it. This did not discourage him: with Quintus Curtius in his hand, where he finds the description of the siege of Tyre, he sets his people again to work; and by the help of two Frenchmen, Metefau and Tiriau, the mole is in a condition to resist the winds and waves.

The king comes to the siege, and stays from March the month of March 1628, till the town surrendered. 1628. Often present at the attacks, and setting an example to his officers, he hastens the grand work of the mole: but still there is danger lest another English fleet should come and destroy it. Fortune favours this enterprize in every thing. The duke of Buckingham was ready to sail with Sept. a formidable fleet for Rochelle, when an Irish fanatic assassinated him with a knife; nor was it ever possible to find out his accomplices. 1628.

In the mean while Rochelle destitute of succours, and provisions, supported herself by her courage alone. The mother and sister of the duke of Rohan, though reduced to extremity of want, spirited up the citizens. Wretches ready to expire with hunger deplored their state before Guiton the mayor, who made answer; *that if there was only one man left, still the gates must be kept shut.*

† A barricado is a kind of entrenchment or defence, made in haste, of barrels filled with earth, carts, trees cut down, or any thing else to keep off an attack.

The hopes of the Rochellers revived at the sight of the fleet equipped by Buckingham, which set out at length under the command of the Earl of Lindsey. But they could not break through the mole. The ships were kept off by a battery of forty pieces of cannon, erected on a wooden fort in the sea. Lewis stood on this very fort, exposed to the artillery of the enemy's fleet, whose efforts proved ineffectual.

Oct. 28, 1628. At length famine overcame the courage of the Rochellers, and after a twelve month's siege, in which they defended themselves without the least succour, they were obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the mayor's poniard, which still lay on the table in the town-house, to stab any man that should mention a word of capitulating. It is observable that neither Lewis XIII, as king, nor cardinal Richlieu as minister, nor the marshals of France as crown officers, subscribed their names to the capitulation. It was signed by two camp marshals. Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges; but no body suffered death. The catholic religion was re-established both in town and country; and the inhabitants were allowed the exercise of Calvinism, the only thing that was left them.

Cardinal Richelieu would not leave his work unfinished. He marched towards the other provinces, where the protestants had so many cautionary towns, and where their numbers still rendered them formidable. The party was to be intirely reduced and disarmed, before he could securely employ his whole strength against the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, Flanders, and on the frontiers of Spain. In a word,

the

the state must be quiet and united, before he could disturb or divide the dominions of other princes.

The interest of France invited her arms into Italy, to establish a duke of Mantua, independent of Spain, the late sovereign being deceased. Gustavus Adolphus also wanted to make a descent upon Germany, and France was to support him in this expedition.

At this critical juncture, the duke of Rohan, unshaken amidst the ruins of his party, treats with the king of Spain, who promises him succours, though the duke had acted against him the precedent year. Philip IV consults his council of conscience, and agrees to pay three hundred thousand ducats a year to the head of the French Calvinists. But the money comes with some difficulty. In the mean time, the king's troops ravage Languedoc; Privas is given up to be plundered, and the inhabitants are put to the sword. The duke unable to maintain the war, finds once more the secret of concluding a general peace for the whole party, as favourable as could be expected. The very man, who had lately been in treaty with the king of Spain, as the head of the Calvinists, negotiates with the king of France his master, at the time that he stands condemned as a rebel by the parliament; and after having taken Spanish money to maintain his troops, he receives a hundred thousand crowns of Lewis XIII to pay them off, and to disband them.

1628.

The rest of the protestant towns are treated in the same manner as Rochelle; they are deprived of their fortifications, and of every privilege that might be dangerous to the state: but they are allowed

lowed to enjoy liberty of conscience, to have their temples, their municipal laws, and their courts of justice, which could do no harm. All is made quiet. The great body of protestants, instead of establishing an independent state, are disarmed and crushed. Neither the Swiss nor the Dutch were so powerful as the French Huguenots, when the former erected themselves into independent sovereignties. Geneva, though a trifling place, asserted her liberty. Yet the Calvinists of France were demolished. The reason is, their people were scattered about the provinces; one half of the inhabitants and the parliaments were catholics; the king's forces fell upon their country, which was quite open; they were attacked by superior numbers, and by disciplined troops; in a word, they had to deal with cardinal Richelieu.

Never did Lewis XIII, whose character indeed is not sufficiently known, gain so much personal glory: for while his troops, after the taking of Rochelle, were reducing the Huguenots, he maintained his allies in Italy; he marched an army over the Alps in the midst of a severe winter, to the assistance of the duke of Mantua; March
1629. he forced three barricados at the pass of Susa, and making himself master of the last town, he obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards from before Casal.

In the mean time cardinal Richelieu was negotiating with all, and against most of, the sovereigns in Europe. He sent a Capuchin to the diet of Ratisbon, to deceive the Germans, and to tie up the emperor's hands in Italy. At the same time Charnassé was commissioned to encourage

encourage Gustavus Adolphus to make a descent upon Germany; to which that prince was already very much disposed. Richelieu thought of making all Europe tremble, while the cabal of Gaston and the two queens were in vain endeavouring to undermine him at court. His being a favourite occasioned more disturbances in the cabinet, than were raised by his intrigues in foreign states. It is not to be imagined that those disturbances were the effect of profound policy, or of well concerted schemes, by which a strong and artful party conspired to turn him out, and to substitute a successor capable of filling his place. Whim and caprice, which influence mankind in the most important affairs, were in great measure the cause of those unhappy divisions. The queen-mother, though she had a seat in council, though she had been regent of the provinces on this side of the Loire during her son's expedition to Rochelle, was still disgusted with cardinal Richelieu, who affected to depend on her no longer. The memoirs written in defence of that princess, relate, that the cardinal having been to pay her a visit, and her majesty inquiring about his health, he answered with faltering tongue, and inflamed with choler, *I am better than they, who are present, wish me.* The queen was very angry; the cardinal fell into a passion: he asked pardon; the queen was smoothed: but two days after they quarrelled again; for though policy may get the better of passion in the cabinet, it cannot always have that command in private conversation.

Mary de Medicis immediately dismisses the Nov. cardinal from his place of steward of the house-²¹,
hold.¹⁶²⁹

hold. The first fruit of this quarrel, was the patent of prime minister, which the king wrote with his own hand in favour of the cardinal, addressing his discourse to him personally, extolling his courage and magnanimity, and leaving a blank for his salary, that the cardinal might fill it up himself. He was already high admiral of France under the name of superintendent of the marine; and having deprived the Calvinists of their cautionary towns, he possessed himself of Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre de Grace, Oleron, and the isle of Rhé, which were his strong holds to protect him against his enemies. He had guards; his pomp eclipsed the dignity of the throne; the ensigns of royalty attended him; and all authority centered in his person.

The situation of affairs in Europe, rendered him more necessary than ever both to his king and country. The emperor Ferdinand II, after the battle of Prague, had made himself despotic in Germany, and was become powerful in Italy. His troops had laid siege to Mantua. Savoy was wavering betwixt France and the house of Austria. The marquiss of Spinola occupied the dutchy of Montferrat with a Spanish army. The cardinal, desirous of entering the lists with Spinola, prevails on the king to appoint him generalissimo of the army marching into Italy; and his majesty gives orders for his troops to pay the same obedience to his minister, as to himself in person. Richelieu acting as constable of France, and with two marshals under him, 1630. marches into Savoy. He negotiates upon the road, but like a king; and desires the duke of Savoy to meet him at Lyons; which the duke refuses.

refuses. The French make themselves masters of^{1630.} Pignerol and Chambery in two days. At length the king himself sets out for Savoy, in company with the two queens, and his brother: the whole court were possessed with hatred against the cardinal, but obliged to behold his triumphs. Richelieu turns back to meet the king at Grenoble; and they proceed together to Savoy. At this very time Lewis was seized with a contagious distemper, which obliged him to return to Lyons. In the mean while the duke de Montmorenci, with a small body of troops, obtained a complete victory at Vegliano over July the Imperialists, Spaniards, and Savoyards; where^{1630.} he wounded general Doria, and took him prisoner. This action gained the duke great glory. The king wrote to him these words; *I acknowledge myself obliged to you as much as king can be.* The obligation, however, did not prevent this great man from dying two years after upon a scaffold.

Nothing less than such a victory could have maintained the glory and interest of France, while the Imperialists were taking and plundering Mantua, pursuing the duke protected by Lewis XIII, and beating the Venetians his allies. The cardinal's chief enemies being at court, he let the duke de Montmorenci fight the enemies of France, while he watched those who were undermining him with his majesty. The king was then a dying at Lyons. The favourites of the queen-consort shewed themselves too eager, in proposing to Gaston to marry his brother's wife, who was soon expected to be a widow. Richelieu was preparing to retire to Avignon: but the king recovered; and all those who had conceived any hopes from

his death, were confounded. The cardinal attended him to Paris; where he found more intrigues going on than were hatching among such a variety of powers, as in Italy, the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spanish ambassador, had entered into a league against him with the two queens. The two brothers of the name of Marillac, one a marshal of France, the other lord keeper, though indebted to him for their preferment, had conceived hopes of destroying him, and succeeding in his place. The marshal de Bassompierre, without any pretensions, was in the secret; while Beringhen, the king's chief valet de chambre, informed the cabal of every thing that passed in the royal apartment. The queen-mother deprives the cardinal a second time of his post of steward of her household, which she had been obliged to return him; a post which the cardinal's proud spirit considered as far beneath him, though from another kind of pride he did not chuse to part with it. His niece, afterwards dutchess of Aiguillon, is dismissed; and Mary de Medicis, by dint of intreaties and complaints, prevails on her son to discard his minister.

There is nothing in all these intrigues, but what we see every day in private families, where there happens to be a great number of servants: there they are common trifles; but here they were big with the fate of France and Europe. The negotiations with the princes of Italy, with Gustavus-Adolphus king of Sweden, with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, against the emperor and Spain, were in Richelieu's hands; and could hardly be taken from him without endangering

dangering the state. Yet this weak prince, impelled by another motive, the secret envy he bore to the cardinal's merit, abandons this ^{Nov.} useful minister; and, yielding to the sollicitations and tears of his mother, he promises to remove him. ^{10,} ^{1630.} The cardinal enters by a back-door into the very room where they had concluded his ruin. The king walks out, and takes no notice of him; the minister looks upon himself as undone, and prepares to withdraw to Havre de Grace; as some months before he had had thoughts of retiring to Avignon. His ruin seemed inevitable, especially as the king had granted powers that very day to marshal de Marillac, Richelieu's avowed enemy, of making war and peace in Piedmont. Richelieu is in a hurry to be gone; his mules had already transported part of his treasure five and thirty leagues off, without passing through any town, because of the public hatred. His friends however advised him to try once more what he could do with the king.

The cardinal waits upon his majesty at Versailles, at that time a small hunting-seat, purchased by Lewis XIII for twenty thousand ducats, now one of the finest palaces in Europe, and on which immense treasures were expended by Lewis XIV. The king, who had been so weak as to sacrifice his minister, weakly resigns himself once more into his hands, and gives ^{Nov.} ^{11,} up all those who had conspired his ruin. ^{1630.} That very day, which is still called *the day of dapes*, was the æra of the absolute power of the cardinal. The morrow the lord keeper was seized, and carried prisoner to Chauteaudun, where he

died of vexation. Immediately the cardinal dispatches a cabinet messenger in the king's name to the marshals de la Force and Schomberg, to arrest the marshal de Marillac in the midst of the very army, of which he was going to take upon him the sole command. The messenger arrives an hour after the marshal had received the news of the cardinal's disgrace. The marshal is made prisoner, just at the very moment when he thought himself arbiter of the state in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu determined to put this general to an ignominious death, for being guilty of extortions. The trial lasted near two years: we shall give here the series of it, in order not to break the thread of this narration, and to shew what revenge can do, when armed with power, and coloured with the appearance of justice.

The cardinal, not satisfied with depriving the marshal of the privilege of being tried by parliament, a privilege so often violated, ordered the trial at Verdun before commissaries, from whose severity he had every thing to expect. These commissaries having concluded, notwithstanding the many promises and threats, that the prisoner should be admitted to make his defence, the minister had the decree reversed, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's most bitter enemies, particularly Paul Hey du Chastelet, known by a venomous satire against the two brothers. Never were the forms of justice, nor the rules of decency, more flagrantly violated. The cardinal broke through all bounds to such a degree, as to remove the prisoner, and to
continue

continue the trial at Ruel, his own country seat.

It is expressly forbid by the laws of the realm to detain a prisoner in a private house; but revenge and lust of power know no laws. Neither was there more regard paid to the canons of the church, than to decency and the forms of justice. The new lord keeper, Chateaneuf, who had but just succeeded the prisoner's brother, presided in a court, from whence he ought to have kept away for decency: though he was a subdeacon, and possessed of church livings, he drew the indictment; and the cardinal got him a dispensation from Rome, empowering him to sit upon cases of life and death.

By this it appears, that in criminal prosecutions the life of the prisoner depends on the desire of pleasing those who are in power. The judges were obliged to inquire into the marshal's whole life and conversation. They discovered some abuses in the execution of his office, some illicit though usual perquisites taken heretofore, either by himself or by his domestics, in building the citadel of Verdun: *it is a strange thing*, said he to the court, *that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much cruelty and injustice: my whole trial is only about a little hay, straw, stones, and lime.*

And yet this general, stooping with his wounds, and with forty years services, was condemned to death, under that same king who had granted rewards to a number of rebellious subjects.

At the very beginning of this extraordinary trial, the cardinal obtained orders from the king for Beringhen to quit the realm. Every body that attempted, or that he suspected of attempt-

ing, to hurt him, were clapt up in prison. Such cruelty, and revenge, did not seem to become so great a soul, busied about the fate of Europe.

At that very time he was concluding with Gustavus-Adolphus the treaty which was to shake the throne of Ferdinand II. It cost France no more than three hundred thousand livres in hand, and twelve thousand livres a year, to divide Germany, and to overpower two emperors successively till the peace of Westphalia. Gustavus was now entering upon his victorious career, which gave France an opportunity of establishing her power. The perplexity of other nations ought to have made the court easy. But the want of moderation in the minister excited the public hatred, and rendered his enemies implacable. Gaston, duke of Orleans, the king's brother, retires to his estate at Orleans, and from thence to Lorrain, protesting that he will not set foot again in France, so long as the man who persecuted himself and his mother, continued to domineer over the kingdom. Richelieu causes a decree of council to be issued out, declaring all Gaston's friends guilty of high-treason. This decree was sent to parliament; the votes were equally divided; the king was incensed, and summoned the parliament to the Louvre; they went thither on foot, and addressed him on their knees. The resolution of the court of parliament was torn in their presence, and three of the principal members were banished.

The cardinal did not remain satisfied with maintaining his authority, now connected with that of his royal master: having forced the presumptive heir of the crown to retire from court, he no longer

ger scrupled to put queen Mary de Medicis under arrest. This was a delicate point, since the king was sorry for having once before confined his mother, to oblige his favourite. The cardinal had recourse to the argument of the public welfare to stifle the voice of nature, and to the springs of religion to remove the qualms of conscience. It was on this occasion that he made use of Joseph du Tremblay, a Capuchin friar, as extraordinary a man in his way as Richelieu himself, an artful enthusiast, a knavish fanatic, one that affected to raise a crusade against the Turk, to found a religious order of the nuns of mount Calvary, to write verses, to negotiate in all the courts of Europe, in a word, that wanted to raise himself to the purple and to the ministry. This man being admitted into one of those privy councils, which had been invented to do mischief without scruple of conscience, represented to the king that his majesty had a right, and that it was likewise his duty, to render his mother incapable of opposing the minister. The court was then at Compiègne. The king sets out Feb. 1631, from thence, and leaves his mother surrounded with guards, who deprive her of liberty. Her friends, dependents, domestics, and even her physician, are committed to the Bastile and to other prisons. The Bastile was always full during this whole administration. The marshal de Bassompierre, only suspected of not being in the cardinal's interest, was confined there he remainder of that minister's life.

From that fatal moment Mary never more set sight of her son, nor of Paris, which she had emblesshied with the palace of Luxemburg, with a- July 1631, queducts.

queducts before unknown to that capital, and with the public walk which still bears her name. Ever the victim of her favourites she passed the remainder of her days in a voluntary but painful exile. The dowager of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, the mother-in-law of three sovereigns, was reduced to want the necessaries of life. The bottom of all those quarrels was, that Lewis XIII must be governed by somebody; and he chose it should rather be by his minister than by his mother.

This queen, who for such a series of years had had the direction of the kingdom of France, repairs at first to Brussels: from that asylum she cries out aloud to her son, at the same time demanding justice of all the courts of judicature in the kingdom. She applies in suppliant terms to the parliament of Paris, whose remonstrances she had so often rejected, and whom she had treated as a mere court of judicature, during her regency; such a change doth fortune produce in our manner of thinking. Her petition is still extant: *Mary queen of France and Navarre humbly sheweth, that ever since the 23d of February she had been detained prisoner in the castle of Compiègne, without being either charged or suspected, &c.* All her complaints against the cardinal lost their force by being too violent: besides, the persons who dictated them, mixed their own resentments with her sorrows, and false with true accusations: in a word, her lamentations only increased her misfortunes.

1637. Notwithstanding the queen's petition against the minister, he obtains a patent of duke and peer, and is nominated governor of Britany. Every thing

thing succeeded to his wishes in France, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarin, the pope's agent in the affair of Mantua, rose to be a French minister by his skill in negotiation; and serving cardinal Richelieu, he laid, unknown to himself, the foundation of that fortune which destined him to succeed in the administration. An advantageous treaty had been lately concluded with the duke of Savoy, who ceded Pignerol in perpetuity to France.

Towards the Netherlands the prince of Orange, with the help of French money, made conquests upon the Spaniards; and the cardinal had secret correspondents even in Brussels.

In Germany the extraordinary success of the arms of Gustavus-Adolphus, seemed to add lustre to the cardinal's services. In short, the uninterrupted prosperities of his administration held all his enemies in an incapacity of hurting him, while he gave a full swing to his vindictive resentment, which the welfare of the state seemed in some measure to authorize. He established a court of justice, where all the partisans of the king's mother and brother were condemned. The list of the proscribed was prodigious: every day new gibbets were to be seen, loaded with men and women in effigy, who had followed the fortune, or been advisers of Gaston and the queen: inquiry was made even after physicians, and drawers of horoscopes, for saying that the king could not live long; two of whom were sent to the gallies. In a word, the queen-mother's effects, together with her jointure, were confiscated. *I am not willing to charge you, says she in a letter to her son with the seizure of my effects, nor with the* making

making an inventory of them, as if I were dead; it is not at all credible that you would go to deprive her of nourishment, who gave you life.

The whole kingdom murmured; but hardly any body dared to speak. They who might be inclined to espouse the quarrel of the queen-mother, or of the duke of Orleans, were restrained by fear. The marshal duke de Montmorenci, governor of Languedoc, was the only one that thought himself able to stop the cardinal's career: he flattered himself with the hopes of being the head of a party. But courage alone was not a sufficient qualification for this dangerous task: he had not such an influence over his province as Lesdiguières had had over Dauphiné: his extravagancies put it out of his power to purchase a sufficient number of dependents; and his taste for pleasures would not permit him to apply himself intirely to business: in short, before he could be the head of a party, a party must be formed; which was not the case.

Gaston flattered him with the title of avenger of the royal family. His party depended on considerable succours from the duke of Lorraine, Charles IV, whose sister had been married to Gaston; but this duke was not able to defend himself against Lewis XIII, who had invaded part of his dominions. The court of Spain flattered the king's brother with the hopes of an army in the Netherlands, and towards Treves, with which he might march into France; but he could scarce assemble two or three thousand German horse, who, as he was not able to pay them, lived intirely upon plunder. As soon as he could shew himself in France with those

those succours, the whole kingdom was to join him; and yet not a single town stirred in his favour, upon his whole march, from the frontiers of Franche-Comtè to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He was in hopes that the duke d'Epèrnon, who had heretofore traversed the whole kingdom to set the queen-mother at liberty, who had waged war and concluded a peace in her favour, would now declare for the same queen, and for one of her sons, presumptive heir to the crown, against a minister whose pride had often mortified that same proud duke. This great resource also failed him. The duke d'Epèrnon had almost ruined himself by succouring the queen-mother: besides, he complained that she had neglected him, after he had done her such signal service. He hated the cardinal more than any body living, but he began to be afraid of him.

The prince of Condè, who had waged war against marshal d'Ancre, was not inclined to declare against Richelieu; but submitting to the superior genius of that minister, and eager to improve his private fortune, he solicited the command of the troops beyond the Loire, against his brother-in-law Montmorenci. The count of Soissons had as yet only an impotent aversion against the cardinal, but durst not shew it.

The king's brother being thus abandoned, because he was not strong enough, crossed the kingdom rather as a fugitive, with a gang of foreign banditti, than as a prince who was upon his march to give battle to a king. At length he arrives in Languedoc; where the duke de Montmorenci had raised at his own expence, and by

dint of promises, six or seven thousand men, which they called an army. Divisions, which ever mix in all parties, weakened Gaston's forces, as soon as assembled. His favourite, the duke d'Elbeuf, would fain share the command with the duke de Montmorenci, who had the whole merit of raising the troops, and was in his own government.

Sept. 1,
1632. The affair of Castelnaudari began with reproaches betwixt Gaston and Montmorenci. This could hardly be called a battle; it was a rencounter, a skirmish, in which the duke, in conjunction with a few lords of his party, attacked a small detachment of the royal army, commanded by marshal Schomberg. Whether it was through natural impetuosity, or through vexation and despair, or, in short through excess of wine, a thing at that time very common, the duke leaped over a wide ditch, followed only by five or six persons. This was behaving like a knight-errant, but not as a general. Having pierced into the enemy's ranks, he was dangerously wounded, and taken within sight of Gaston and of his little army, who made not the least movement to assist him.

Gaston was not the only son of Henry IV, present at this engagement; the count de Moret, a bastard of this monarch and of mademoiselle de Beuil, ventured his person more than the legitimate son; he would not forsake the duke de Montmorenci, but was killed by his side. It is this very count de Moret whom they afterwards brought to life, pretending that he lived a long time an hermit; an idle fable, interwoven with melancholy events.

No sooner was Montmorenci taken prisoner than Gaston grew disheartened, and the army which the duke had raised for him, was dispersed.

Then this prince was obliged to submit. The court sent Bullion, counsellor of state, and comptroller-general of the finances, to him, with a promise of pardon for Montmorenci: yet the king did not stipulate this pardon in the treaty, or rather in the amnesty which he granted his brother. This is not acting nobly, to deceive the unfortunate and the weak; but the cardinal was determined to humble the king's brother, and to destroy Montmorenci. Gaston went so far as to promise by an article of the treaty, *that he would love cardinal Richelieu.*

Every body must have heard of the fatal exit of the marshal duke de Montmorenci. His punishment was just, though that of the marshal de Marillac was not: yet the execution of a nobleman of such great expectations, who had been victorious in battles, and whose signal bravery, generosity, and other agreeable accomplishments, had endeared him to all France, rendered the cardinal more odious than the death of Marillac had done. It is said, that when they were carrying the duke to prison, they found a bracelet on his arm, with queen Anne of Austria's picture; a particularity that has been constantly believed at court, and agreeable to the spirit of the times. Madame de Motteville, a confidant of this queen, acknowledges in her memoirs, that the duke de Montmorenci had the same vanity as Buckingham, of being smitten with her charms: this was the *galeantear* of the Spaniards, something like the Italian *Cicisbei*, a remnant of ancient

oâ. 30, 1632. tient chivalry; but which was not likely to sweeten the sour temper of Lewis XIII. Montmorenci, before he died, bequeathed a famous picture of Caracci's to the cardinal. This was not the spirit of the times, but an unnatural sentiment, inspired at the approach of death, and considered by some as an act of Christian heroism, by others as imbecility.

Nov. 15, 1632. Gaston, finding that his return to France had brought his friend and defender to the scaffold; obliged to consider it as a favour that he was only banished from court; in a word, afraid of being deprived of his liberty, quits the kingdom once more, and retires to Brussels to keep his mother company.

Nov. 16, 1632. Under any other ministry, the flight of a queen, and of the presumptive heir of the crown, into an enemy's country, the general discontent of the several orders of the kingdom, the resentment of hundreds of families for the blood of their relations, all this together might have torn the kingdom in pieces; especially as the affairs of Europe were then greatly altered. Gustavus-Adolphus, the scourge of the house of Austria, was slain in the midst of his victory at Lutzen in the neighbourhood of Leipstick; and the emperor, having got rid of this enemy, might, in conjunction with Spain, be able to overpower France. But, by extraordinary good fortune, the Swedes maintained themselves in a foreign country, notwithstanding the death of their chief. Germany was as much a scene of confusion and bloodshed as before; and Spain was daily growing weaker. The cardinal's power must therefore crush every cabal: and yet there was not a day without some new faction or intrigue.

intrigue. The minister himself occasioned them by private foibles, which insensibly intermix even with the most important affairs, and, in spite of all the artifices to conceal them, do not fail to disclose the mean condition of the great. It is pretended that the dutchess of Chevreuse, still possessed of beauty and wit sufficient to inspire the cardinal-minister with a tender passion, had succeeded in her attacks, and that she betrayed him to Chateauneuf the lord-keeper. The commander de Jars, and others, were admitted into the secret. Queen Anne, wife of Lewis XIII, had no other comfort, under the loss of her influence at court, than in assisting the dutchess of Chevreuse to expose the cardinal to ridicule, since it was not in her power to destroy him. The dutchess pretended to have a liking for the cardinal, and was forming intrigues in expectation of his death, which his bad state of health foreboded to be near. An opprobrious term, which this cabal made use of to distinguish the cardinal, was what offended him * the most of any thing.

The lord keeper was sent to prison without any 1633. form of process, because no process could be made. The commander *de Jars*, and others, being charged with having privately corresponded with the king's brother and mother, were condemned by commissioners to be beheaded. The commander had his pardon granted him upon the scaffold, but the others were executed.

Prosecutions were not only carried on against the king's subjects, who might chance to be accused of being in Gaston's interests; but even

* Queen Anne and the dutchess used to call him *rotten a—e*.

1633. the duke of Lorraine, Charles IV, was a sufferer in the cause. Lewis XIII made himself master of Nancy his capital, which he promised to restore, as soon as the duke delivered up his sister Margaret, who had been privately married to Gaston. This marriage was a fresh source of disputes and quarrels, both in church and state; and those disputes might some time or other produce a great revolution. The point regarded the succession to the crown; and since the question about the Salic law, never had there been a more important debate.

The king would have the marriage between his brother and Margaret of Lorraine to be declared void; consequently, that if a prince should be born of that marriage, this prince, his nephew, and heir to the kingdom, should be bastardized, and made incapable of inheriting. Gaston's marriage had been celebrated in the presence of witnesses, approved of by his wife's father, and by her whole family, consummated, acknowledged in court by the parties, and solemnly confirmed by the archbishop of Mechlin. The court of Rome, and all foreign universities, looked upon the marriage as valid and indissoluble; the university of Louvain went so far as to declare it was not in the pope's power to annul it, being an indelible sacrament.

The welfare of the state required that the princes of the blood, should not have the power of disposing of their persons, without the king's permission; the same reason might hereafter require, that the fruit of this marriage, now declared illegitimate, might be acknowledged the legitimate king of France. But this danger
was

was remote, the present interest was pressing; and there seemed to be a necessity for determining, in spite of the church, that such a sacrament as marriage ought to be annulled, unless it was authorized by the previous consent of him who represents the father of the family.

A royal edict did what neither Rome nor the general councils would have done; and the king took the cardinal with him to see this edict registered in the parliament of Paris. The cardinal spoke in this bed of justice as prime minister and peer of France. One may form a judgment of the eloquence of the times, by two or three passages of the cardinal's speech: he says, *that to convert a soul was more than to create a world; that the king durst not touch the queen his mother no more than the ark; and that there never happen above two or three relapses in acute disorders, so long as the nobler parts are sound.* Almost the whole speech is in this stile; yet it was one of the best in those days. The prevailing bad taste did not diminish the minister's genius; for the spirit of government has been ever consistent with corrupt eloquence and false wit. The marriage of the king's brother was solemnly annulled; and the general assembly of the clergy in 1635, conforming to the edict, declared all the marriages of the princes of the blood null and void, unless they be contracted with the king's consent. Rome never approved of this law of the state and of the Gallican church.

The royal family was now reduced to a very hard dilemma. Should the presumptive heir of the crown persist in a marriage condemned in France, the issue of that marriage would be considered

Sept.
1634.

sidered as bastards in that kingdom, and must have recourse to a civil war to inherit: were he to marry another wife, the issue of this second marriage would be looked upon as bastards at Rome, and must engage in a civil war against the children by the first venter. This perplexity was prevented by Gaston's steadiness; he never shewed any but upon this occasion; and the king, after some years, consented to acknowledge his sister-in-law: but the edict, which annuls the marriage of the princes of the blood without the king's consent, hath continued in force.

This obstinacy of the cardinal in pursuing the king's brother even into his most inmost recesses, in depriving him of his wife, in stripping the duke of Lorraine of his brother-in-law, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and in poverty, roused at length the adherents of those princes; and they entered into a plot to assassinate him. Father Chanteloube of the oratory, chaplain to Mary de Medicis, was accused in court of having suborned some ruffians to commit the murder, one of whom was broke on the wheel at Metz. Such wicked designs were very rare: there had been more conspiracies against the life of Henry IV: but even the most virulent enmities are productive of fewer barbarities than fanaticism.

The cardinal had a stronger guard than Henry IV, and therefore had nothing to fear. He was victorious over all his enemies. The court of queen Mary and her son Gaston, still wandering and destitute, was moreover torn by dissensions, the consequence of faction and misery.

Cardinal

Richelieu had more potent enemies to combat. He was determined, notwithstanding the intestine troubles that divided the kingdom, to extend the glory and influence of France abroad, and to execute the grand project of Henry IV, by making open war against the house of Austria in Germany, Italy, and Spain. This war rendered him necessary to a master who did not love him, and in whose favour he was very often in danger of being undermined. The king's glory was concerned in the undertaking; and it seemed to be the proper season for overpowering the house of Austria in its decline. Picardy and Champagne were as yet the limits of France, which might be extended while the Swedes were still in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, if France would but lend them assistance. These were the only motives of the war against the emperor, which did not finish till the treaty of Westphalia; and of that against the king of Spain, which lasted a long time after, till the Pyrenean treaty. All the other motives were only prettexts.

The court of France seemed hitherto to have endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the name of ally to Sweden, and mediator in the empire. The Swedes had lost a great battle at Nordlingen; but this very defeat proved advantageous to France, for it rendered them dependent on this crown. The chancellor Oxenstiern paid his court in person to the fortunate cardinal, who from that time forward was arbiter of the affairs of Germany, which had been intirely in the hands of Oxenstiern.

fiern. At the same time he concludes a treaty with the states-general, to share the Spanish Netherlands between them, reckoning they would be an easy conquest.

Lewis XIII sent a herald to Brussels to declare war. This herald was to present a challenge to the cardinal-infant, son of Philip III, and governor of the Netherlands. It is observable that this cardinal prince, according to the custom of the times, had commanded armies in person. He was one of the generals that beat the Swedes at Nordlingen. This century beheld three cardinals, Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis, armed with a cuirass, and marching at the head of their troops. All these customs have changed. The sending of an herald to declare war, has never been practised since; princes are satisfied now with declaring war at home, without sending to notify it to the enemy. The cardinal drew the dukes of Savoy and Parma into this alliance: he took particular care to make sure of Bernard duke of Weimar, by granting him a yearly pension of four millions of livres, and promising him the landgraviate of Alsace. Not one event corresponded to the measures concerted. Alsace, which Weimar was to possess, fell long after into the hands of France; and Lewis XIII, who in one campaign was to share the Netherlands with the Dutch, lost his army, and was very near seeing all Picardy over-run by the Spaniards. They had taken Corby; and count Galas, the emperor's general, together with the duke of Lorraine, were already in the neighbourhood of Dijon. The arms of France were unsuccessful at first on every side; so that she was obliged to
make

make great efforts, in order to resist those whom she thought to have subdued with ease.

In short, the cardinal was upon the brink of being ruined by that very war, in which he had engaged for his own and for his country's glory. The bad success of public affairs diminished for a while his power at court. Gaston, whose whole life had been a flux and reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king his brother, returned to France; and the minister was obliged to intrust him and the count of Soissons with the command 1636. of the army, which retook Corby. Then he saw himself exposed to the resentment of those two princes. This was the time, as we have already observed, of conspiracies as well as duels. The same persons, who afterwards, in conjunction with cardinal de Retz, raised the first disturbances in the minority of Lewis XIV, and who were concerned in the affair of the *Barricades*, embraced this early opportunity of exercising that spirit of faction which was inwardly devouring them. Gaston and the count of Soissons consented to every thing that could be done to destroy the cardinal. A resolution was taken to make away with him in the king's apartment. The duke of Orleans never did any thing but by halves; frightened at the thoughts of the attempt, he neglected to give the signal which the conspirators had agreed to.

The Imperialists were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards out of Picardy: the duke of Weimar carried his point in Alsace, and made himself master of very nigh all that landgraviate, which had been guaranteed to him by France. At length, after more successes than disappointments,

ments, the same fortune which had saved the cardinal's life from so many conspiracies, preserved also his glory, which depended on success.

This love of glory made him covet the empire of letters and wit, even at the very crisis we have been speaking of, and amidst the plots that were continually hatching against his person. At this same period he erected the French academy, and exhibited in his palace a few theatrical pieces, in which he had some hand himself. He resumed his haughty air as soon as the danger was over. For it was at this same time, that he fomented the disturbances in England, when he wrote this little note, the forerunner of Charles I's misfortunes; *The king of England shall see, before a year is at an end, that he must not despise me.*

When the prince of Condé was obliged to raise the siege of Fontarabia, where his army was defeated, and the duke de la Valette was accused of having neglected to assist him, the cardinal ordered Valette, who had fled the kingdom, to be tried by commissioners, where the king himself presided in person. This was the antient usage of trial by peerage, when the kings were considered only as heads of the peers; but under a government purely monarchical, the presence and vote of the sovereign must have too great an influence on the opinion of the judges.

This war, of the cardinal's stirring up, did not succeed to his wishes, till the duke of Weimar gained at length a complete victory, making four of the Imperial generals prisoners, and settled himself in Friburg and Brisac; and till the Spanish branch of the house of Austria was stripped of Portugal by the only conspiracy in those days that

that proved successful, and at length was disposed also of Catalonia by an open rebellion towards the end of 1640. But before fortune had thus disposed of all these extraordinary events in favour of France, the kingdom was in danger of being ruined. The troops began to be ill paid; and Grotius, the Swedish ambassador at Paris, says, that the revenue was ill administered. He had reason to say so; for the cardinal had been 1636. obliged, some time after the battle of Corby, to create four and twenty new counsellors of parliament, and one president. It is very certain there was no want of judges; and it was a shame to make new ones merely to get a little money by the sale of their employments. The parliament complained of this step. All the answer the cardinal made, was to imprison five magistrates who had spoke to him like free-born subjects. Whoever opposed his will, either at court, or in parliament, or in the army, was sure to be disgraced, exiled, or imprisoned.

Lewis XIII had ever occasion for a favourite, to divert his melancholy, or to listen to his complaints. This post was filled by the duke of St. Simon; who, happening not to carry himself well with the cardinal, was removed from court, and banished to Blayes.

The king sometimes took a liking to the ladies. He was fond of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, maid of honour to the queen-consort; as far as a weak man, disturbed with scruples, and not over voluptuous, can be fond. The jesuit Caussin, the king's confessor, favoured this connexion, which might contribute to the queen-mother's recall. While mademoiselle de la Fayette

yette permitted the king to make love to her, she was in the interest of the two queens against the cardinal: but the minister got the better both of the mistress and of the confessor, as before he had got the better of the two queens. Mademoiselle was frightened out of her wits, and obliged to
 1637. throw herself into a convent: soon after father Caussin was seized, and banished into lower Britany.

Christina, dutchess of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV, widow of Lewis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had also a jesuit for her confessor, who was caballing at that court, and prepossessing his penitent against cardinal Richelieu. This minister, preferring his own revenge and the interest of the state to the law of nations, did not hesitate a single moment about seizing the person of the jesuit in the dutchess's dominions. The king's wife, Anne of Austria, is
 1637. treated as a criminal, only for writing to the dutchess of Chevreuse, the cardinal's enemy, and a fugitive. Her papers are seized, and she undergoes an interrogatory before the chancellor Seguier.

All these passages, drawn into one view, form the picture of this administration. It seemed as if the same man was destined to domineer over the whole family of Henry IV, to persecute his widow abroad, to abuse his son Gaston at home, to raise factions against his daughter the queen of England, to lord it over the dutchess of Savoy his other daughter, to strike a terror into his wife; and, in a word, to humble Lewis XIII by rendering him powerful. Thus the whole time of his administration was spent in making

ing himself odious, and in taking his revenge; while almost every year was productive of rebellions and executions. The revolt of the count of Soissons proved the most dangerous: it was supported by the duke of Bouillon, the marshal's son, who entertained him at Sedan; by the duke of Guise, grandson of him who was called the *Scarred*, and who, with the courage of his ancestors, was willing to revive their reputation; and last of all by the king of Spain, who supplied them with money, and with troops from the Netherlands. This was not a rash attempt like those of Gaston.

The count of Soissons and the duke of Bouillon had a good army, and knew how to command it: for their greater security, while this army advanced, it was agreed to assassinate the cardinal, and to raise an insurrection in Paris. The cardinal of Retz, then very young, served his political noviciate in this conspiracy. The battle of Marfée, which the count of Soissons ^{July 6,} _{1641.} gained in the neighbourhood of Sedan over the king's troops, must have encouraged the conspirators. But the cardinal got out of this scrape likewise, by the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement. This was the only time he had it not in his power to punish. He knew nothing of the conspiracy against his life; and the rebel army was victorious. He was obliged to enter into a negotiation with the duke of Bouillon, lord of Sedan. The duke of Guise alone, the same who afterwards made himself master of Naples, was out-lawed by the parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, being taken into favour at court, and in appearance reconciled to the cardinal, renewed his oath of allegiance, at the same time that he was contriving a fresh conspiracy. As all who came near the king hated the minister, and as the king had ever occasion for a favourite, Richelieu himself recommended young d'Effiat Cinq-Mars to him, that he might always have a creature of his own near his majesty's person. This youth, having been soon preferred to the post of master of the horse, would fain be a member of the council; but the cardinal opposing it, Cinq-Mars became his implacable enemy. What emboldened him most to enter into a conspiracy, was the king himself. Frequently dissatisfied with his minister, with his pride, his state, and even his merit, he used to confide his chagrins to his favourite, whom he stiled *his dear friend*; and on these occasions he was apt to speak of Richelieu with such acrimony, as encouraged Cinq-Mars more than once to propose assassinating him: which is proved by a letter from his majesty to the chancellor Seguier. But this very prince took afterwards such a dislike to his favourite, that he oftentimes banished him from his presence; so that Cinq-Mars soon began to have an equal aversion both to Lewis XIII and to Richelieu. He had already established a correspondence with the count of Soissons, which he continued with the duke of Bouillon; when the king's brother, who since his repeated mis-carriages had lived upon his estate at Blois, tired at length of an indolent life, and solicited by his confidants, thought proper to join in the conspiracy. The basis of every plot was the death

death of the minister, a project often formed, but never executed.

Lewis XIII and cardinal Richelieu, both labouring under a disorder more dangerous than these conspiracies, and which soon laid them in their graves, were upon their march to Roussillon, intending to wrest this province intirely from the house of Austria. The duke of Bouillon, who should not have been intrusted with an army just after he had been fighting against the king, had the command nevertheless of a body of troops in Piedmont against the Spaniards; and at this very time he was plotting with Cinq-Mars and the king's brother. The conspirators were concluding a treaty with Spain, to introduce the troops of that nation into France, and to throw every thing into confusion, under a regency which was thought to be at hand, and of which every body expected to make his advantage. Cinq-Mars had followed the king to Narbonne, and was more in his good graces than ever; while Richelieu lay sick at Tarascon, deprived of the royal favour, with this advantage left, that his service was necessary to his majesty.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it, that this plot was likewise discovered, and a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. It cost Cinq-Mars his life. It is an anecdote transmitted down by the courtiers of that time, that the king, who used to call the master of the horse *his dear friend*, took his watch out of his pocket at the time appointed for the execution, saying, *I believe my dear friend at present cuts but a sad figure.* The duke of Bouillon was put under arrest in the midst of his army at Casal. He saved his life, because

because the government wanted the principality of Sedan more than his blood. He who had twice betrayed the state, preserved his princely dignity, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands given him, that produced him a better revenue. M. de Thou *, who could be charged with no more than being privy to the conspiracy, which he had disapproved of, was condemned to death for not disclosing it. In vain did he represent that it was not in his power to prove his deposition, and that if he had accused the king's brother of high-treason, without juridical proofs, he should have been much more deserving of death. So clear a justification was not admitted by the cardinal his personal enemy. The judges condemned him, in consequence of a law of Lewis XI, whose very name is a sufficient proof of its cruelty. The queen herself had been in the secret; but as she was not accused, her majesty escaped the mortification she must have otherwise undergone. As for Gaston duke of Orleans, he informed against his accomplices according to custom, made an humble submission, consented to stay at Blois without guards or honours; while it was ever his fate to bring his friends either to a prison, or to the scaffold.

The cardinal, indulging his revenge under the sanction of justice, acted on this occasion with the utmost arrogance and severity. The master of the horse was dragged after his train from Tarascon to Lyons upon the Rhone, on board a vessel fastened to the cardinal's, who, though struck himself with death, was leading a man in triumph, as it were, to the place of execution. From thence he proceeded to Paris, carried by

* Eldest son of the celebrated Thuanus the historian.

his guards on their shoulders, in a tent or furnished apartment, where two men might stand by his bedside: the guards were relieved upon their march; and the town-walls, wherever he came, were broke down to give him more convenient admittance. In this equipage he went to breathe his last at Paris at fifty-eight years of age, leaving the king pleased to lose him, and embarrassed at being his own master. This minister is said to have reigned even after his decease, because some vacant places, which he had nominated to, were filled up: but the warrants were signed before he died. A proof, beyond all contradiction, that he reigned too long, and that his government had expired, was, that all those whom he had imprisoned in the Bastille, were set at liberty, as victims untied, and no longer to be sacrificed to his vindictive disposition. He bequeathed three millions of livres to the king, at fifty livres the mark, a sum which he had always kept in reserve. The expence of his household, since he had been prime minister, amounted to a thousand crowns a day. His palace was remarkable for magnificence; and the king's for simplicity. When he waited upon his sovereign, his guards went up to the very door of the apartment. In all places he took precedence of the princes of the blood: in short, he wanted nothing but the crown. Even when he was in a dying condition, he flattered himself he should outlive the king, and was concerting measures to render himself regent. The widow of Henry IV was gone five months before him; and he was followed five months after by Lewis XIII.

Dec. 4,
1642.

July 3,
1642.
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It is difficult to say which of the three was most unhappy. The queen-mother had lived long an exile, and died a beggar at Cologne. The son, master of a fine kingdom, neither tasted the pleasures, if there be any, of grandeur, nor those of humanity; ever subject to the yoke of a minister, though desirous to shake it off, infirm, melancholy, gloomy, insupportable to himself, not having so much as a servant that loved him, mistrusting his wife, hated by his brother, forsaken by his mistresses without knowing what love is, betrayed by his favourites, abandoned on the throne; so that the life of the meanest citizen, with peace and quiet in his family, was far preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the most miserable of the three, because the most detested; and, though in a very bad state of health, he was obliged to bear an immense burden, his hands all the time imbrued in blood.

At this very period of plots and executions, the kingdom flourished; and, notwithstanding so many public afflictions, the age of the polite arts began to dawn. Lewis XIII did not contribute in the least, but the cardinal contributed greatly, to this change. Philosophy, it is true, could not shake off its scholastic rust: but Corneille's *Cid*, which was wrote in 1635, may be said to have begun the age distinguished by the name of Lewis XIV. Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting. Sculpture was soon perfected by Girardon: of this the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a lasting proof. The French began to distinguish themselves for the graces and ornaments of the mind. This was properly the dawn of good taste.

taste. The nation was not yet what it afterwards became; nor was trade properly encouraged, nor the general police established. The internal order of the kingdom was still to be settled. There were no fine towns except Paris, which still wanted a great many necessaries, as may be seen in the *Age of Lewis XIV.* Their manner of living was as different from ours, as their mode of dress. Were we to see the people of those days, we should hardly think they were the preceding generation. The buskins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the mustaches, and the sharp-pointed beard, made as great a difference between them and us, as their passion for plotting, their madness for duelling, their carousing in public houses, and their general ignorance, notwithstanding their natural good sense. The nation was not as rich as it has been since, in specie, and in plate: and indeed the ministry, who raised all they could upon the people, had scarce more than the moiety of the revenue of Lewis XIV. They were still inferior to us in industry. The coarse fabrics of cloth at Rouen and Elbeuf, were the finest we had in France. There was no tapestry, no crystal, no manufactures of glass. Watchmaking was in an imperfect state, for it consisted only in putting a string to the fusee of a watch; and pendulums were not yet invented. The trade to the staples of the Levant was ten times less than what it is at present; that of America was confined to the furs of Canada; not a single ship was sent to the East-Indies, while the Dutch were possessed of kingdoms in that part of the world, and the English of considerable settlements.

The nation was possessed of less money than it has had since; and the government borrowed at a higher interest: the least it gave in the way of annuities, was seven and a half per cent. at the death of cardinal Richelieu. From thence we may deriye an invincible proof, among many others, that the testament attributed to that minister was not written by him. The ignorant blunderer, who assumed his name, says in the ninth chapter of the second part, that the enjoyment of those annuities produceth the intire reimbursement of the capital in seven years and a half: he has taken the *denier septième* for seven a half per cent.; and he did not see that the reimbursement of a capital, in seven years and a half, does not produce seven and a half per annum, but very near fourteen. This whole chapter shews the author to be as little acquainted with the first elements of arithmetic, as with those of politics. I have entered into this detail, only to shew how greatly mankind are imposed upon by names: so long as this mysterious performance passed for cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled to the skies as a master-piece; and they who at length discovered the imposture, have found the master-piece to be one continued series of blunders and untruths.

C H A P. CXLVI.

Of the Government and Manners of Spain, from Philip II, to Philip IV.

AFTER the decease of Philip II, the Spanish monarchs were observed to strengthen their authority at home, while they insensibly lost their weight and influence abroad. This decline may be dated so early as the first years of the reign of Philip III, whose weakness was visible in every part of his government. It was difficult indeed to have a watchful eye over America, and over such vast possessions in Asia, Africa, Italy, and the Netherlands: but his father had overcome this difficulty; and surely no task could be too arduous for a monarch possessed of the treasures of Mexico, Peru, Brasil, and the East Indies. But so great was the neglect and corruption in the administration of the revenue, under this reign, that during the war which still continued with the United Provinces, the Spanish government had not money to pay their troops; for which reason they mutinied, and three thousand of them deserted to prince Maurice. 1624. Thus a simple stadtholder acting with œconomy, paid his forces much better than the sovereign of so many kingdoms. Philip III might have covered the sea with ships; and yet the petty provinces of Holland and Zealand had greater fleets than he: they stripped him of the chief of the Molucca 1626 islands, and especially of Amboina, which produceth the most costly spices, and of which they have ever since continued in possession. In a word, those

those seven diminutive provinces baffled the land forces of that vast monarchy; and were far more powerful by sea.

Philip III, though at peace with France, and with England, and having no war but with this
1609. infant republic, is obliged to conclude a truce for twelve years, to leave her in possession of whatever she had acquired, to promise her a free trade to the East Indies, in fine to restore the house of Nassau to its estates situated within the dominions of the Spanish monarchy. Henry IV had the glory of concluding this treaty by means of his ambassadors. It is generally the weakest side that desires a truce; here prince Maurice was against it. There was more difficulty in making him agree to this treaty, than the king of Spain.

1609. The expulsion of the Moors was infinitely of greater prejudice to the Spanish monarchy. Philip III could not subdue a handful of Dutchmen; yet unfortunately he was able to drive six or seven hundred thousand Moors out of his dominions. Those remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were mostly disarmed: being employed in commerce and agriculture, they were less formidable than the protestants in France, and far more useful, because they were industrious in a country of indolence. Though obliged to pretend to Christianity, they were continually persecuted by the inquisition: this persecution produced some insurrections, but of no consequence, and such as were soon quelled. Henry IV wanted to take
1609. these people under his protection: but his correspondence with them was discovered by the treachery of a clerk in the secretary's office; an
accident

accident which hastened their expulsion. The court had already determined to get rid of them. In vain did they propose to pay two millions of ducats for the liberty of breathing Spanish air; the council was inflexible: five and twenty thousand of the proscribed took shelter in the mountains, but having no arms, they were soon obliged to submit. Two whole years were spent in transporting the natives of Spain, and in depopulating the state. Thus did Philip deprive himself of the most industrious part of his subjects, instead of imitating the Turks, who keep the Greeks in subjection, without forcing them to look out for distant settlements.

The greatest part of those Spanish Moors took shelter in Africa their antient country; some went into France under the regency of Mary de Medicis; those who would not renounce their religion, took shipping in France for Tunis; a few families, that made profession of Christianity, settled in Provence, and Languedoc; some went as far as Paris, where their descendants are known. At length those fugitives incorporated with a nation, that has profited by the mistake of Spain, though she afterwards imitated this example in the ejection of the Protestants. Thus it is that all nations are mingled, and absorbed one within the other, sometimes by persecutions, and other times by conquests.

This great emigration, together with that of the colonies which avarice had transplanted to the new world, insensibly exhausted the kingdom of inhabitants; so that in a short time it was like a large body grown quite emaciated. Superstition, that distemper of impotent minds, proved

a further disgrace to the reign of Philip III; while his court was only a cahos of intrigues, like that of Lewis XIII. Neither of those princes could live without favourites, nor reign without prime ministers. The duke of Lerma, who was afterwards cardinal, governed the king and kingdom a long time: but the confusion, in which every thing was involved, drove him from his place. He was succeeded by his son; but without any advantage to Spain.

Under Philip IV, son of Philip III, the disorder increased. His favourite the duke of Olivarez made him take the title of *Great* at his accession to the crown: had he deserved it, he would not have had a prime minister. Europe and his subjects refused to give him this title; but after he had lost Roussillon by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by neglect, Catalonia by abuse of power, the public voice gave him for his device a ditch with these words, *the more you dig out of it, the greater it is.*

This fine kingdom was at that time impotent abroad, and miserable at home. They were strangers to all sort of police. The inland trade was ruined by the duties, which were continued to be raised, from one province to another. Each of those provinces having been formerly a petty kingdom, the ancient customs still subsisted; and what had been heretofore a necessary law, was now become a heavy abuse. They knew not how to mould all those different parts of the kingdom, into a regular whole. The same abuse had been introduced into France; but in Spain they carried it to such excess, that no body was permitted to transport money into a different province.

province. The inhabitants of that happy climate were strangers to industry, so that they seldom improved the blessings of nature: neither the raw silk of Valentia, nor the excellent wool of Andalusia and Castile, were worked up by Spanish hands: fine linen was a luxury very little known: the Flemish manufactures, one of the establishments of the house of Burgundy; supplied Madrid with all the magnificence known in those days: gold and silver stuffs were prohibited over the kingdom; as if it had been a petty republic that was afraid of being impoverished. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the mines of the new world, Spain was so exhausted, that the ministry under Philip IV found themselves reduced to the necessity of making money of copper, on which they set almost as high a value as on silver: and the sovereign of Mexico and Peru was obliged to coin false money in order to pay the great officers of state. They durst not, if we can believe the sage Gourville, lay personal taxes, because the citizens, and the country people, having hardly any moveables, could never be forced to pay. Never was that saying of Charles V found so true: *In France there is plenty of every thing, in Spain every thing is wanting.*

The reign of Philip IV was one continued series of miscarriages and defeats: so that the duke of Olivarez proved as unsuccessful in his administration, as cardinal Richelieu had been fortunate in his.

The Dutch at the expiration of the twelve years truce, renew the war, and take Brasil, ^{1625.} where they still keep possession of Surinam: they likewise make themselves masters of Maestricht, which

which has also continued in their hands. The Spanish armies are driven out of the Valteline and Piedmont by the French, without declaring war; and when war was declared in 1635, Philip proved unsuccessful on all sides. The province of Artois is invaded. Catalonia jealous of her privileges, which were trampled upon, revolts, and throws herself into the arms of France. Portugal shakes off the yoke. A conspiracy, well planned and well executed, places the house of Braganza on the throne. The prime minister Olivarez had the mortification of contributing to this great revolution, by sending money to the duke of Braganza, to prevent any excuse that prince might make for not repairing to Madrid. This very money served to reward the conspirators.

The revolution was no way difficult. Olivarez had been so imprudent as to withdraw the Spanish garrison from Lisbon. There were but few troops to guard the kingdom. The people were enraged at some new tax; and in short the prime minister, thinking to deceive the duke of Braganza, had given him the command of the army. The dutchess of Mantua, vice-queen of Portugal, was expelled, and nobody undertook to support her. A Spanish secretary of state, and one of his clerks, were the only victims offered up to the public vengeance. All the towns throughout Portugal followed the example of Lisbon almost the same day. John of Braganza was every where proclaimed king without the least disturbance: never did son succeed more peaceably to his father. Vessels were dispatched from Lisbon to the several towns in Asia and Africa, and

and to the islands belonging to the crown of Portugal: not one of them hesitated to drive away their Spanish governors. The remaining part of Brasil, namely whatever had not been wrested from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned to the Portuguese: and at length the Dutch, uniting with the new king don John of Braganza, restored the other part to the crown of Portugal.

The Azores, Mafambique, Goa, Macao, were animated with the same spirit as Lisbon. One would have imagined that the plan of this conspiracy had been laid in each of those places. Upon the whole it plainly appeared that a foreign administration is ever odious, and that the Spanish ministry had taken but little care to preserve their extensive dominions.

Here also was an instance of the flattery paid to kings in their misfortunes, and of the disguise with which they are informed of unprosperous events. The manner in which Olivarez disclosed the loss of Portugal to Philip IV, is very curious. *I am come, said he, to bring your majesty good news: you have gained the duke of Braganza's whole fortune; he has taken it into his head to be proclaimed king; and his crime hath procured you the confiscation of his estate.* The confiscation did not take place: Portugal rose to be a very considerable kingdom, especially as soon as the riches of Brasil, and the treaties with England, made her commerce flourish.

The duke of Olivarez, master of the Spanish monarchy, and rival of cardinal Richelieu, was at length disgraced for being unsuccessful. These ministers had long reigned like kings, one in
2
France,

France, the other in Spain; both had the enmity of the royal family, of the grandees, and the people; they were very different in character, in regard to virtue, as well as vice; the duke being as reserved, tranquil, and mild, as the cardinal was lively, arrogant, and cruel. What kept Richelieu in the ministry, and almost generally gave him the ascendant over Olivarez, was his activity. The Spanish minister lost every thing by his indolence: he died the death of discarded ministers, who are said to pine away with chagrin, occasioned not only by solitude after the busy scenes of life, but by a consciousness of having incurred the popular hatred, without a capacity of taking their revenge. Cardinal Richelieu had shortened his days in another manner, by the anxiety which devoured him even in the zenith of power.

After all the losses that the Spanish branch of the house of Austria sustained, still it had more dominions left, than Spain is possessed of at present. The dutchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily, belonged to that monarchy; and notwithstanding the weakness of its government, it gave a great deal of trouble to France, till the Pyrenean treaty.

From the time of Philip II to Philip IV, the Spaniards distinguished themselves as men of genius. Their theatre, though imperfect, was preferable to that of other countries, and served as a model to the English: even when the tragic buskin began afterwards to appear in France with some dignity, it was greatly indebted to the Spanish nation. History, agreeable romances, ingenious fictions, and morals, were treated in
Spain

Spain with greater success, than the drama ; but they have been ever strangers to sound philosophy. The errors of the school have been perpetuated by the inquisition and superstition ; the mathematics have been very little minded ; and in all their wars they have generally employed Italian engineers. They have had some painters of the second rank, but not a single school. Architecture never made any great progress among them. The Escorial was built after the designs of a Frenchman. The mechanic arts were all in a very rude state. The magnificence of the grandees consisted in a large collection of plate, and a great number of domestics. They had a generous ostentation which was greatly taking with foreigners, and obtained no where but in Spain ; this was to divide the money they won at play, among the standers by, of what condition soever. Montresor relates, that when the duke of Lerma received Gaston, brother of Lewis XIII, with all his retinue in the Netherlands, he displayed a magnificence of a most extraordinary kind. This prime minister, with whom Gaston staid several days, used to put two thousand loudiores upon a large gaming table, after they had finished their repast. With this money, Gaston's attendants, and even this prince himself, sat down to play.

The entertainments of bull fighting were very frequent, as they are to this day ; and indeed this was a most magnificent, most gallant, as well as dangerous spectacle. All this while they were strangers to every convenience of life. The want of those conveniences had increased since the expulsion of the Moors.
Hence

Hence it is that you travel through Spain, as through the deserts of Arabia, and that you meet with few accommodations even in the great towns. Neither was society more improved than the mechanic arts. The Spanish women were almost as much confined, as those of Africa; and if ever they compared this slavery to French liberty, it only made them more unhappy. This constraint had perfected an art to which we are strangers, that of speaking by signs: in this manner did the lover disclose his passion under his mistress's window; and she immediately opened the lattice, to answer him in the same language. Every body played upon the guitar; and yet every Spanish face was overcast with melancholy. Practices of religion served those indolent people instead of business. Then it was said that pride, devotion, love, and idleness formed the characteristic of the Spanish nation. But they had none of those bloody revolutions, none of those conspiracies, or cruel executions, which were exhibited at the other courts of Europe. Neither the duke of Lerma, nor count Olivarez, spilled the blood of their enemies upon a scaffold: their kings were not assassinated as in France; nor did they die as in England, by the hands of a public executioner.

C H A P. CXLVII.

*Of the Germans under Rodolph II. Matthias,
and Ferdinand II.*

Of the misfortunes of Frederic Elektor Palatine.

*Of the Conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peace
of Westphalia, &c.*

WHILE France was resuming new vigour under Henry IV, while England was flourishing under Elizabeth, and while Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II, Germany and the North were far from making so great a figure.

If we consider Germany as the seat of the empire, this was only an empty name; for it may be observed that since the abdication of Charles V, till the reign of Leopold, it had no sort of influence in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were suppressed as useless ceremonies, though they had been looked upon heretofore as essential: but since the reign of Ferdinand I, brother and successor of Charles V, the emperors neglected the journey to Rome. The pretensions of those princes to that capital, and those of the popes to confer the Imperial dignity, were insensibly fallen into oblivion; and reduced to a letter of congratulation, which the supreme pontiff writes to the emperor elect. Germany continued to enjoy the title of empire, though weak, and divided. It was a republic of princes over whom presided the emperor; and those princes having constant pretensions one against the other, generally maintained a civil war, either openly
or

or underhand, fomented by opposite interests, and by the three religions of the empire, which were more difficult to reconcile than the interests of princes. It was impossible that this country, divided into so many principalities, without commerce, or wealth, should greatly influence the system of Europe. It had no weight or strength abroad, but was strong at home, because the inhabitants were always industrious and warlike. Had the Germanic constitution been ever subverted, had the Turks seized part of Germany, and the other invited foreign masters, politicians would have said that the empire already rent by its divisions could not possibly subsist: they would have demonstrated, that the extraordinary form of its government, the multitude of princes, and the plurality of religions, must ever be productive of ruin and slavery. The causes of the decline of the ancient Roman empire were not so obvious. Yet the Germanic body hath remained unshaken, though it has within its bosom what seems to menace its ruin; and it is difficult to attribute this stability of so complicated a constitution, to any other cause than to the genius of the people.

Germany had lost Metz, Toul, and Verdun in 1552, under the emperor Charles V; but besides that this territory belonged to ancient Gaul, it might be considered rather as an excrescence, than a natural part of the Germanic body. Neither Ferdinand I, nor his successors made any attempt to recover those towns. The Austrian emperors, now kings of Hungary, were continually in fear of the Turks, and incapable of disturbing France, weak as this kingdom was,

was, from the reign of Francis II to Henry IV. German princes would come and plunder this country, but the Germanic body would not join to destroy it.

In vain did Ferdinand I endeavour to unite the three religions which divided the empire, and the princes who sometimes waged war against one another. The antient maxim, *divide & impera*, did not suit him. Germany must be united, before it can be powerful: but far from being united, it was dismembered. It was in his time that the Teutonic knights made a present of Livonia to the Poles, which was reputed an Imperial province, and of which the Russians are now in possession. The secularization of the bishoprics of Saxony and Brandenburg, was not a dismemberment of the empire, but a great revolution which strengthened the power of those princes, while it weakened that of the emperor.

Maximilian II was even less absolute than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preserved any kind of vigour, it would have maintained its rights over the Netherlands, which were indeed an Imperial province. The emperor and the diet were their natural judges. Those people who were stiled rebels a long time, ought to have been put under the ban of the empire: yet Maximilian II suffered *William the Silent*, prince of Orange, to wage war in the Netherlands at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. In vain did this emperor get himself elected king of Poland in 1575, after the departure of Henry III, king of France, which was considered as an abdication: Battori,
Waywod

Waywod * of Transylvania, the emperor's vassal, carried the election against his sovereign; and the protection of the Ottoman port, to which this Battori had had recourse, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rodolph II succeeded his father Maximilian, and surpassed him in the weakness of his administration. He was emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary at the same time; yet he had no sort of influence either in Bohemia, Hungary, or Germany; much less in Italy. Rodolph's reign seems to prove that there is no such thing as a general rule in politics.

This prince was reckoned far more incapable of governing, than Henry III, king of France. Yet the conduct of the latter cost him his life, and was very near being the ruin of the kingdom; while the behaviour of the former though a great deal more weak, occasioned no disturbance in Germany. This is because in France all the great lords wanted to raise themselves on the ruins of the throne, whereas the German lords were already raised.

On some occasions it is necessary a prince should know the art of war. Rodolph for want of this knowledge, saw all Hungary a prey to the Turks. Germany was under so wretched a government, that they were obliged to make a public collection, to oppose the Ottoman conquerors. A box was put up at the gate of every church. This is the first war that had been ever carried on by charitable contributions; it was

* A name given to the governors of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, when subject to the king of Hungary. The governors of towns under a Bashaw are also called Waywods.

looked upon as holy, but did not prove the more successful on that account: and had it not been for the disturbances of the Seraglio, in all probability Hungary would have continued for ever subject to the Turks.

The same thing came to pass under this emperor in Germany, as had lately happened in France under Henry III. There were two leagues, one catholic, the other protestant, and those sovereigns could never stem the torrent of either. Religion, so long the cause of commotions in Germany, was now only a pretext. The point in dispute was the succession to the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers. This was still a consequence of the feudal law; and there was hardly any other way of deciding the property of those fiefs, than by the sword. The contest regarded the houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuburg. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's cousin, had taken possession of Cleves, till the affair could be determined. This dispute was the only cause, as we have already observed, of the death of Henry IV, who was preparing to march to the assistance of the protestant league. This victorious prince, followed by well disciplined troops, by the greatest generals, and the best ministers in Europe, was upon the point of making an advantageous use of the weakness of Rodolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV defeated this grand design, but did not render the emperor Rodolph more fortunate. He had resigned Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to his brother Matthias, when the king of France was making preparations to march into Germany: after getting
rid

rid of so formidable an enemy, still he was obliged to resign Bohemia to Matthias, and thenceforward he lived as a private person, only preserving the title of emperor.

During his reign every thing was transacted without his notice: he did not so much as concern himself about the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchses, elector of Cologne, who would fain keep his archbishopric and his wife, but was expelled from the electorate by the arms of his canons, and of his competitor. This surprising inaction was owing to a principle still more extraordinary in an emperor. He cultivated a philosophy which taught him every thing that could be known at that time, except to fulfil the duties of a sovereign. He was better pleased to converse with the celebrated Ticho Brahe, than to assemble the states of Hungary or Bohemia.

The famous astronomical tables of Ticho Brahe and Kepler, bear this emperor's name, being called the Rodolphine tables; as those which were made in Spain by two Arabs in the twelfth century, went by the name of king Alphonfus. The Germans distinguished themselves in this century by the first dawning of sound physics. They never succeeded in the polite arts, like the Italians; nor indeed did they apply themselves much that way. The faculty of invention in natural science is ever given to the patient and the laborious. This turn of mind had been observed for some time in the Germans, and extended to their northern neighbours. Ticho Brahe was a Dane. It was very extraordinary, especially at that time,

time to see a Danish gentleman spend a hundred thousand crowns of his own fortune, besides what he had received from Frederic II, king of Denmark, upon building an observatory, together with a small town inhabited by a number of literati. It was called *Uranienburg*, or the *Starry town*. Ticho Brahe had indeed the vulgar weakness of giving credit to judicial astrology, but this did not render him less an astronomer, nor less able in mechanics. His fate was the same with that of other great men ; he was persecuted in his own country after the death of the king his protector : but he found a second patron in the emperor Rodolph, who made him amends for all his losses, and for the injustice of courtiers.

Copernicus had discovered the real system of the world, before Ticho Brahe invented his, which is only an ingenious hypothesis. The ray of light which now illumines the world, came from the little town of Thorn in Polish Prussia, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century Kepler, a native of the dutchy of Wurtemberg, divined the mathematical laws of the course of the stars, and was looked upon as a legislator in astronomy. Lord Bacon was proposing new sciences at that time ; but Copernicus and Kepler were inventing them. No greater efforts had been made by the antients ; nor had Greece been illustrated by brighter discoveries : but the other arts flourished at the same time in Greece ; whereas in Germany, physics alone were cultivated by a small number of retired sages. The multitude were rude and ignorant ; in some pro-

vinces they were almost strangers to reflection, and only knew how to hate one another for the sake of religion.

At length the catholic and protestant leagues plunged Germany into a civil war of thirty years, and reduced her to a more deplorable state, than that of France before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In the year 1619 died the emperor Matthias successor of Rodolph, and the Imperial dignity had like to have gone from the house of Austria; but the votes were all united at length in favour of Ferdinand archduke of Gratz. Maximilian duke of Bavaria, who had disputed the empire with that prince, dropped his pretensions: he did more; he maintained the Imperial throne at the expence of his blood and treasure, and established the grandeur of a house that afterwards endeavoured to crush his posterity. An union between two branches of the same family, might have changed the fate of Germany; these were the elector Palatine, and the duke of Bavaria. But there were two grand obstacles against such an union; emulation, and difference of religion. The elector Palatine was a Calvinist, the duke of Bavaria a Catholic. This elector Palatine was one of the most unfortunate princes in his time, and the cause of the long calamities of Germany.

Never were the notions of liberty more generally diffused throughout Europe, than at that time. Hungary, Bohemia, and even Austria were as jealous of their privileges as the English. This spirit prevailed in Germany, ever since the latter end of the reign of Charles V. The example

ample of the seven United Provinces was ever present to the minds of a people, who pretended to the same privileges, and who thought themselves more considerable than the Dutch. When the emperor Matthias caused his cousin Ferdinand of Gratz to be elected king of Hungary and Bohemia in 1618, and made the other archdukes resign Austria in his favour; Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, complained, that no regard was paid to the privileges of the states. Religion made a share of the Bohemian grievances; and then they grew stark mad. The protestants would fain rebuild the temples demolished by the catholics. The council of state declared against the protestants; these rushed into the hall where the council were assembled, and flung three of the principal magistrates out of the window. This was a specimen of the violence of the populace, which generally exceeds even the oppression against which they complain. But what was more extraordinary, the rebels published a manifesto, pretending they had only acted in conformity to the laws, and that they had a right to tumble the tyrannical members of the council out of the window. Austria sided with Bohemia; and in the midst of these troubles Ferdinand of Gratz was chosen emperor. 1618.

His new dignity did not frighten the protestants of Bohemia who were grown very formidable: they thought they had a right to depose an elective king; which made them offer their crown to the elector Palatine, son-in-law of James I, king of England. The elector accepted of the throne, without a sufficient force to

Nov. maintain it. His relation Maximilian of Bavaria,
 8. at the head of the Imperial troops and his own,
 1620. defeated him at the battle of Prague, and stripped
 him of his crown and his electorate.

This day began the bloody war of thirty years. The battle of Prague decided for a while the antient quarrel between the emperor and the princes of the empire: it made Ferdinand II despotic. He put the elector Palatine under the ban of the empire, merely by a decree of the Aulic council; and he proscribed all the princes and lords of the elector's party, notwithstanding the Imperial capitulations, which bind only those that have not power to break them.

The elector Palatine fled into Silesia, and thence successively to Denmark, to Holland, to England, and to France: he was one of those unhappy princes on whom fortune ever frowns, blasting their most sanguine expectations. He received no succours from his father-in-law the king of England, who was deaf to the importunate cries of the nation, to the solicitations of his son-in-law, and to the interest of the protestant party, of which he might have been the head: he received none from Lewis XIII, though it was evidently the interest of that monarch to hinder the princes of Germany from being crushed. Lewis XIII was not then under the direction of cardinal Richelieu. The only succour now left to the Palatine family, and to the protestant union of Germany, was that of two captains, who had each a little flying camp, like the Italian *Condottieri*: one was a prince of Brunswick, who had no other estate than the administration or usurpation of the bishopric of Halberstadt:

Halberstadt; he was intitled *the friend of God, and enemy of the priests*, which last appellation he merited, subsisting intirely by the plunder of churches: the other support of this then ruined party, was a bastard adventurer of the house of Mansfield, one as deserving of the title of *enemy of priests*, as the prince of Brunswick. These two auxiliaries might help indeed to ravage part of the empire, but not to restore the elector Palatine, or the equilibrium of the Germanic body. The emperor having thus established his power in Germany, calls a diet at Ratisbon, wherein he declares, *that the elector Palatine having incurred the guilt of high treason, his estates, chattels, and dignities, are devolved to the Imperial domain; but being unwilling to diminish the number of electors, he wills, commands, and ordains that Maximilian of Bavaria shall be invested with the Palatine electorate.* Accordingly he gave this investiture from the throne, and the vice-chancellor declared that his Imperial majesty did confer the electoral dignity in *the fulness of his power.* 1623.

The protestant confederacy being very nigh overpowered, made new efforts to prevent their total destruction. They chose the king of Denmark for their chief; and England supplied them with some money. But neither English money, nor the troops of Denmark, nor Brunswick, nor Mansfield could prevail against the emperor; so that they all only helped to ravage Germany. Ferdinand II was every where triumphant by means of his two generals, the duke of Walftein, and count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always beat at the head of his armies, and Fer-

Ferdinand without stirring out of his palace was victorious and triumphant.

1628. The emperor put the duke of Mecklenburgh, one of the chiefs of the protestant union, under the ban of the empire, and gave away this dutchy to his general Walftein. In the same manner he proscribed Charles duke of Mantua, for taking possession of a country without his orders, which devolved to him by inheritance. The Imperial troops surprized and plundered Mantua, spreading terror all over Italy. Ferdinand was beginning to tighten that old chain which heretofore connected Italy with the empire, and had been slackened a long time. An army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, living at discretion in Germany, rendered him quite despotic. The people, over whom he exercised this absolute power, were very wretched : one may judge of this by their money, the numerical value of which was four times greater than the antient value, and besides it was debased. The duke of Walftein used publicly to say, that the time was come for reducing the electors to the condition of dukes and peers of France, and the bishops to the quality of Imperial chaplains. This is the same Walftein who afterwards wanted to become independent, and to bring his superiors into subjection, only to raise himself over their heads.

The use which Ferdinand II made of his successes, and of his power, proved destructive to both. He was so imprudent as to intermeddle with the affairs of Sweden and Poland, and to take part against the young king Gustavus-Adolphus, who was then supporting his pretensions

tensions against his relation Sigismund king of Poland. Hence, by obliging this prince to march into Germany, he paved the way for his own ruin, which he further hastened by driving the protestant princes to despair.

Ferdinand II with just reason thought himself powerful enough to break the treaty of Passau made by Charles V, and to command of his own authority all the princes and lords to restore the bishopricks and church lands, which they had seized into their own hands. This edict is ^{1629.} much stronger than that for revoking the edict of Nants, which made such noise under Lewis XIV. These two enterprizes, of a similar nature, had very different success. Gustavus-Adolphus at the invitation of the protestant princes, whom the king of Denmark durst no longer assist, determined to assert their cause, at the same time that he avenged his own.

The emperor wanted to restore the church to her possessions, in order to subject her to himself; and cardinal Richelieu declared against him. Even Rome traversed his designs: for the apprehension of his power was stronger than the interests of religion. It was not more extraordinary that the minister of the most Christian king, and even the court of Rome, should maintain the protestants in Germany against a formidable emperor, than it had been to see Francis I and Henry II in alliance with the Turks against Charles V.

People are fond of attributing the whole merit of a great enterprize to one man, when he has done but part. It is a vulgar error in the French, to think that the cardinal called the

arms of Gustavus-Adolphus into Germany, and alone paved the way for this great revolution. But it is evident that he did no more than take advantage of conjunctures. Ferdinand II had in reality declared war against Gustavus: he wanted to strip him of Livonia, of which this young conqueror had possessed himself; he sided with Sigismund his competitor to the kingdom of Sweden; and he refused him the title of king. Thus interest, revenge and ambition, called Gustavus into Germany; and even if the French ministry had not assisted him with some money, when he was in Pomerania, still he would have tried his fortune, since the war was already begun.

1631. He was victorious in Pomerania, when France concluded a treaty with him. Three hundred thousand crowns in hand, and a yearly subsidy of twelve hundred thousand livres, were neither a mighty sum, nor a vast exertion of politics, nor a sufficient assistance. Gustavus-Adolphus did all by himself. He landed in Germany with less than fifteen thousand men, but had quickly near forty thousand, by recruiting in the empire, and making the Germans themselves contribute to his conquests. He obliges the elector of Brandenburg to deliver up the fortress of Spandau with all the strong passes; and the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his troops.

Sept. 17. 1631. The Imperial army, commanded by Tilly, is intirely routed in the neighbourhood of Leipfick. The whole country submits to Gustavus, from the banks of the Elbe to the Rhine. He restores the duke of Mecklenburg to his dominions

nions at one end of Germany; and instantly he is at the other extremity, in the Palatinate, after having made himself master of Mentz.

The emperor all this while never stirred from Vienna: in less than one campaign he fell from that high pitch of grandeur which had appeared so formidable; and he was reduced so low as to ask money and troops of pope Urban VIII who refused him both. He would fain persuade the court of Rome to publish a crusade against Gustavus; but the holy father promises a jubilee instead of a crusade. Gustavus marches triumphant through Germany; and takes the elector Palatine with him to Munich, where the latter had the satisfaction of entering the palace of the very prince that had dispossessed him of his dominions. Frederick was just upon the point of being restored to his electorate, and even placed on the throne of Bohemia, by the hands of the conqueror, when at the second battle near Leipsick, in the plains of Lutzen, Gustavus was ^{Nov.} slain in the midst of his victory. This misfortune proved fatal to the elector, who, being infirm at that time, and looking upon his affairs as desperate, died of chagrin. ^{1632.}

Let those who wonder how the swarms that issued formerly from the north, should be able to subdue the Roman empire; let them, I say, but take a view of what great feats Gustavus performed in two years, against a nation more warlike than the Romans at the time when these were conquered, and their surprize will soon cease.

It is well worthy of attention, that neither the death of Gustavus, nor the minority of his daughter.

daughter Christina, queen of Sweden, nor the
 1634. bloody overthrow of the Swedes at Nordlingen, weakened their arms. It was then that Richelieu played his cards so well : he gave law to the Swedes, and to the protestant princes of Germany, while he supported them : by this step France afterwards obtained Alsace, at the expence of the house of Austria.

Gustavus-Adolphus had left behind him great generals of his own training up ; which happens to most conquerors. They were assisted by a hero of the house of Saxony, Bernard of Weimar, a descendant of the antient electoral branch dispossessed by Charles V, and still breathing hatred and revenge against the house of Austria. This prince's whole estate consisted in a small army, formed and disciplined by himself in those troublesome times, and who depended for their subsistence on the point of their swords. France paid this army at that time, as it did the Swedes. The emperor, who never stirred from his cabinet, had no great general to oppose them. He had destroyed the celebrated duke of Walsstein, the only man capable of restoring the honour of his arms, and giving stability to his throne ; from an apprehension lest this duke, whom he had invested with an unlimited power over his armies, should make use of that dangerous power against himself. He employed people to assassinate this general, who wanted to be
 Feb. 3, 1634. independent.

Thus it was that Ferdinand I got rid of cardinal Martinusius, who was too powerful in Hungary ; and that Henry III destroyed the cardinal and his brother the duke of Guise.

Had

Had Ferdinand II commanded his own armies in person, as in such critical conjunctures he ought to have done, there would have been no occasion for having recourse to this impotent revenge, which he looked upon as a necessary expedient, though it did not render him more fortunate.

Never was Germany more humbled than at this very time: the protestant princes were held, in some measure, in subjection by the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern. This minister, animated with the spirit of his late master, would not suffer the French at first to share the fruits of Gustavus's victories: but, after the battle of Nördlingen, he was obliged to desire the French minister would condescend to seize on Alsace, under the title of protector. Cardinal Richelieu promised this province to Bernard of Weimar; but did all he could to secure it to France. Hitherto this minister had temporized, and acted underhand; but now he pulled off the mask, and declared war against the two branches of the house of Austria, greatly weakened in Spain and in the empire. This is the most critical time of the war of thirty years. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy, attacked the house of Austria all at once, and the true system of Henry IV was pursued.

Under these melancholy circumstances died Feb. Ferdinand II, at the age of fifty-nine, after a^{15,} reign of eighteen years, continually disturbed^{1637.} by intestine or foreign wars, while he never commanded but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his prosperity he thought himself obliged to be sanguinary, and afterwards

he met with great disappointments. Germany was more hapless than he; having been ravaged alternately by her own natives, by the Swedes, and by the French; desolated by famine; and plunged into barbarism, the inevitable consequence of such a long and bloody war.

Ferdinand II has been commended as a great emperor, yet Germany was never in a more lamentable condition than during his reign; whereas it was happy under that Rodolph who is so much despised.

He left the empire to his son Ferdinand III, already elected king of the Romans, but he left him an empire rent and divided, the spoils being shared by France and Sweden.

Under the reign of Ferdinand III the Austrian power continued to decline. The Swedes got footing in Germany; while France, in conjunction with that crown, constantly maintained the protestant party with men and money: and, though she was embarrassed herself in a war against Spain, which in the beginning proved unsuccessful; though her minister had frequent conspiracies or civil wars to struggle against; yet she triumphed over the empire, just as a person wounded will, with assistance, throw down another man, who is wounded more dangerously than himself. Bernard duke of Weimar, the descendant of that unfortunate duke of Saxony who had been dispossessed by Charles V, revenged the distresses of his family upon the house of Austria. He was one of Gustavus's generals, who maintained the glory of Sweden after his death; and he proved the most troublesome of them all to the emperor. It is true he set out
with

with the loss of the great battle of Nordlingen; but having afterwards, with the assistance of French money, raised an army intirely dependent on himself, he gained four victories over the Imperialists in less than four months. He reckoned he should be able to erect a sovereignty for himself along the Rhine; and France had guarantied the possession of Alsace to him by treaty.

This new conqueror died at the age of thirty-five, and left his army to his brothers, as a person may bequeath an estate. But France, having more money than the duke of Weimar's brothers, purchased this army, and continued the conquests upon her own account. Marshal Guebriant, viscount Turenne, and the duke d'Anguien, afterwards the great Condè, finished what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swedish generals, Bannier and Torstenson, pressed hard upon Austria on one side, while Turenne and Condè attacked her on the other. 1639:

Ferdinand III, tired of so many unprosperous strokes of fortune, was obliged at length to conclude the peace of Westphalia. In virtue of this famous treaty, the Swedes and the French were become the legislators of Germany in politics and religion. The dispute between the emperor and the princes of the empire, which had lasted seven hundred years, was at length decided. Germany became a great aristocracy, composed of a king, electors, princes, and Imperial towns. Notwithstanding this country had been so exhausted, it was obliged to pay five millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, the plunderers and pacifiers of Germany. The kings of Sweden were made 1648.

made princes of the empire, having acquired the best part of Pomerania, Stettin, Wismar, Rugen, Verden, Bremen, and other considerable territories. The king of France was acknowledged landgrave of Alsace, without being prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length restored to all its rights, except the upper Palatinate, which remained to the branch of Bavaria. The pretensions even of private gentlemen were discussed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a supreme court of justice. Above a hundred and forty restitutions were decreed and complied with. The three religions, the Roman, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist were established. The Imperial chamber was composed of four and twenty protestant members, and six and twenty catholics; and the emperor was obliged to admit of six protestants even in his Aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become, what it had been heretofore under the descendants of Charlemagne, almost a savage desert. The towns were ruined from Silesia as far as the Rhine, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been reduced to ashes by the Imperial general Tilly, was not yet rebuilt. The trade of Augsburg and Nuremberg was lost. Scarce any other manufacture remained but that of iron and steel. Money was extremely scarce; the people were strangers to all the conveniences of life; and in their manners had contracted a stiff severity, in consequence of so long and ruinous a war. It required a whole century to
polish

polish and improve this country. The French refugees first began to reform the taste of the Germans, who of all other nations have benefited the most by the revocation of the edict of Nants. Every thing else came of itself; but was the work of time. The arts follow one another; and Germany is at length become as flourishing a country, as Italy had been in the sixteenth century, when such a number of princes vied with each other for politeness and magnificence.



C H A P. CXLVIII.

Of England to the year 1641.

AS Spain was weakened after Philip II, as France fell into decay and disorder after Henry IV, till the successful administration of cardinal Richelieu; so England was long upon the decline after the reign of Elizabeth. Her successor, James I, ought naturally to have had more weight in Europe than that prince, since he united the crown of Scotland to England; yet his reign was far less glorious.

It is to be observed, that the laws of succession to the throne have not that sanction and force in England as in France and Spain. One of James's rights was said to be queen Elizabeth's will *, by which he was called to the crown; and indeed he had been afraid of not being mentioned in the testamentary disposition of a queen so highly re-

* This has been criticized as a mistake in our author, queen Elizabeth having made no will; but he has the authority of Rapin in his favour.

spected,

spected, and whose last will might greatly influence the nation.

Notwithstanding his obligation to Elizabeth, he did not wear mourning for the murderer of his mother. As soon as he was proclaimed king, he thought it was by right divine, and therefore took the title of *sacred majesty*. This was the first ground of that nation's discontent, and of the heavy calamities which befel his son and his posterity.

In the beginning of his reign, was formed one of the most horrid plots that ever entered into human imagination: all other conspiracies, the effect of revenge, of politics, of the barbarity of civil wars, or even of fanaticism itself, are nothing to compare to the gunpowder-treason. The Roman catholics of England had expected more indulgence from the king than he was pleased to shew them: some, of this persuasion, possessed with that party rage, and that melancholy gloom which prompts men to the most flagitious crimes, determined to make their religion predominate in England, by cutting off, at one blow, the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the realm. Piercy, of the Northumberland family, with one Catesby and
 Feb. 1605. several others, formed a scheme of lodging six and thirty barrels of gunpowder, under the hall where the king was to harangue both houses of parliament. Never was there a crime more easy to execute; or that bid fairer for success. No body could suspect so strange, so horrid an enterprize; nor did there seem to be any obstacle against its being carried into execution. The thirty-six barrels of gunpowder had been purchased

chased in Holland at different times, and were already lodged under the house of lords, in a coal-vault hired several months before by Piercy. They only waited for the day the parliament was to meet; and they had nothing to fear but the remorse of the conspirators: but the Jesuits Garnet and Oldcorn, to whom they had made their confession, removed all sort of scruple. Piercy, who had the heart to murder the nobility and the king, took pity on a friend of his, my lord Montague, and this act of compassion defeated the whole contrivance. He employed a strange hand to write the following words to this peer *; *I would advise you, as you tender your life, to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This council is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you burn this letter.*

Piercy was secure within himself; he did not think it possible for any body to guess, that the whole house of lords should be blown up by gunpowder: yet, when this letter came to be read in council, and none of the members could conjecture the nature of the plot, the king, reflecting on the short duration of the danger, hit exactly upon the design of the conspirators. He orders the vault below the house of lords to be inspect-

* This letter is given from the original, and not from Voltaire.

ed, the very night before the parliament was to meet: they find a man at the door, with matches in his pocket, and a horse waiting for him; they likewise find the six and thirty barrels of gunpowder.

Upon the first news of the discovery, Piercy and the rest of the ringleaders had time to muster up a hundred horse of the Roman catholic persuasion, who sold their lives very dear. Only eight of the conspirators were taken and executed. The two Jesuits underwent the same punishment. The king declared that they had been fairly tried and condemned: but their order maintained they were innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such is the spirit of the times in all countries, where the minds of the people are warped by religious disputes.

Yet the gunpowder treason was the only occasion, on which any great severity was shewn in England during the reign of James I. This prince far from being of a persecuting spirit, openly declared for toleration; he was particularly angry with the presbyterians, for teaching in those days that every papist must be damned.

He reigned two and twenty years, during which time the nation enjoyed peace and plenty, and her commerce was in a flourishing condition. Yet this prince was despised both abroad and at home. He was despised abroad, because being at the head of the protestant party in Europe, he did not support it against the Roman catholic powers, in the grand crisis of the war of Bohemia, but abandoned his son-in-law the elector Palatine; negotiating when he ought to have fought; a dupe both to the courts of Vienna and Madrid;

ever

ever sending pompous embassies, and never having any allies.

The contempt in which he was held by foreign nations, contributed greatly to deprive him of the esteem of his subjects. His authority in England was greatly diminished through his own fault, by endeavouring to extend it beyond its proper bounds, and by continually ringing in the ears of the parliament, that God had made him absolute master over them, and that all their privileges were only concessions from the indulgence of their kings. By such speeches he set the parliament upon examining into the regal power, and the rights of the people. They began to think of settling the boundaries of both, without well knowing where to begin. The monarch's eloquence only rendered him obnoxious to the severity of criticism; nor did they pay all that justice to his erudition, which he thought it deserved. Henry IV used to call him by no other name than *master James*, nor did his subjects give him more flattering titles. In one of his speeches to both houses, he makes use of these words, *I have piped unto you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and you have not lamented.* Thus bringing his prerogative into question by idle speeches, which were but ill received, he hardly ever obtained the subsidies he demanded. His profusion, and his wants, obliged him, like a great many other princes, to make a sale of dignities, and titles; for which the vanity of mankind pays very dear. He created two hundred baronets, each of whom paid two thousand pounds sterling for this trifling honour. Their whole privilege consisted in having the
precedency

precedency of knights: but neither of them could sit in the house of lords; and the rest of the nation made but a very slight account of this new distinction.

What alienated the minds of the English from him more than any thing else, was his giving himself up to favourites. Lewis XIII, Philip III, and James had the same foible at the same time: and while Lewis XIII was absolutely governed by Cadenet, created duke of Luines; Philip III by Sandoval, made duke of Lerma; James was under the same subjection to a Scotchman of the name of Carre, whom he made earl of Somerset. He forsook this favourite afterwards for George Villiers, just as a woman changes one lover for another.

This George Villiers was the famous duke of Buckingham, known throughout Europe, for the comeliness of his person, for his taste of gallantry, and for his ambition. He was the first gentleman that had been ever made duke in England, without being related to the Royal family*. It was very droll to see a royal theologian, who had been eminent for his controversial writings, delivering himself up entirely to a favourite knight errant. Buckingham persuaded the prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Charles I, to go over to Spain in disguise, in order to make love in person to the infanta, between whom and this young prince a match was actually negotiating; and he offered his service as squire upon this don quixot expedition. James, who was called the Solomon of England, consented to this odd adventure, in which he ex-

* This has been censured as a mistake, the English history affording some instances to the contrary.

posed the person of his son. The more he was obliged to carry himself fair at that time with the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, the less able was he to serve the protestant cause, or that of his son-in-law the elector Palatine.

To complete the adventure, the duke of Buckingham fell in love with the dutchess of Olivarez; and after affronting the duke her husband, then prime minister, he broke off the match with the infanta; upon which the prince of Wales returned to England as precipitately as he left it. The duke negotiated soon after a match between Charles and Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV, and sister of Lewis XIII: and though he fell into greater indiscretions in France than in Spain, he succeeded in his negotiation. But James never recovered his credit with his subjects. Those prerogatives of royal majesty, upon which he was ever expatiating in his speeches, though he did not maintain them by his actions, gave rise to a faction, which subverted the throne, and disposed of it more than once, after staining it with blood. This was the faction of the puritans, which still subsists under the name of Whigs; whereas the opposite party, that of the church of England, and friends of the royal authority, hath taken the denomination of *Tories*. These animosities soon began to infect the nation with a melancholy severity, and savage gloom, whereby the arts and sciences were nipp'd in the bud.

A few men of genius in the reign of Elizabeth had cultivated the field of literature, which hitherto lay fallow in England. Shakespear and Ben Johnson modelled the theatre. Spencer revived epic poetry: and Bacon, who deserves a
higher

higher esteem for his literary labours than for those he underwent as chancellor, opened altogether a new road in philosophy. The minds of the people began to be polished and improved; when ecclesiastic disputes, and animosities between king and parliament, threw the nation back into barbarism.

The limits of the regal prerogative, of the privileges of parliament, and of the liberties of the people, were difficult to ascertain, as well in England as in Scotland. Nor were the rights of the English and Scotch episcopacy less difficult to settle. Henry VIII had broke down all sort of fences; Elizabeth found some newly erected, which she pulled down, and put up again with great dexterity and art. James I disputed: he did not demolish those fences; but he pretended that they ought to be demolished; and the nation forewarned by this declaration, was preparing to defend them. Charles I, soon after his accession to the crown, wanted to put in practice, what his father had too often proposed, but never executed.

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England, as well as Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, was in possession of granting subsidies to her sovereigns, as a free and voluntary gift. Charles I wanted to succour his brother-in-law the elector Palatine, and the protestants against the emperor. His father had entered upon this design the last year of his life, when it was too late. Money was wanting to send troops to the lower Palatinate; it was likewise wanting for other expences: for it is this metal alone that constitutes power, since man has made it the universal representative. The king

king demanded money as a right; the parliament would grant none but as a free gift: and before they would grant any at all, they insisted on a redress of their grievances. If they were to wait for a redress of grievances in every kingdom, before troops could be raised, they never would go to war. Charles I was determined to this armament by his sister the electress Palatine; the same who forced her husband to accept of the crown of Bohemia, who solicited the king her father full five years to assist the elector, and who at length by means of the duke of Buckingham's instigations obtained the succours so long retarded. The parliament granted only a very small subsidy. There had been some instances of English kings, who not caring to summon their parliaments, and yet being in want of money, had extorted sums from private people by the way of loan. This used to be a forced loan; he who lent, generally lost his money; and he who would not lend, was sent to jail. These tyrannical schemes had been practised occasionally, when a king was settled on the throne, and had an army by which he could domineer with impunity. Charles I made use of this method, but with some mitigation: he borrowed money, with which he equipped a fleet, and embarked a few troops who returned without doing any thing.

He was obliged to call a new parliament. The ^{1626,} house of commons, instead of going upon the supplies, were for impeaching his favourite the duke of Buckingham, whose power and pride were extremely disagreeable to the nation. Charles far from submitting to the affront done him in the person of his minister, imprisoned two mem-
bers

bers of the house of commons, the most sanguine for the prosecution. This arbitrary act, in defiance of the laws, was not supported; and the timidity with which he released the two prisoners, set great numbers against him, who had been already irritated by the detaining of those two members. He imprisoned a peer of the realm upon the same account, and set him at liberty in the same manner. This was not the way to obtain supplies; and indeed he got none. The forced loans were continued. Soldiers were billeted on those citizens who would not lend; which intirely estranged the affections of the people from his majesty. The duke of Buckingham increased the general discontent by his fruitless expedition to Rochelle. The king convened a new parliament; but it was only convening so many exasperated citizens; they thought of nothing but of settling the rights and privileges of the people and parliament; they voted that the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act, the guardian of English liberty, should never be broke through; that no monies should be raised but by parliament; and that it was a violation of the liberty and property of the subject to billet any soldiers upon them. The king determining to support his authority, and yet demanding money, weakened the one, without obtaining the other. The commons were still for impeaching the duke of Buckingham; when an Irish fanatic, whom this general animosity had rendered quite furious, assassinated the prime minister in his own house, surrounded by courtiers. This bold stroke sheweth to what a pitch of madness the nation had been already worked up. There was a small duty upon the importation

tion and exportation of merchandizes, which was called *tunnage and poundage*. The late king had always enjoyed it by act of parliament; and Charles did not think he had need of a second act. Three merchants of London having refused to pay this small tax, the custom-house officers seized their goods. One of those merchants was a member of the lower house. The commons being obliged to defend their own privileges, together with the liberties of the people, proceeded against the officers of the customs. The king highly incensed, dissolved the parliament, and sent four members of the house of commons to prison. Such are the weak beginnings, which subverted the constitution, and stained the throne with blood.

To this source of public misfortunes, was added the torrent of ecclesiastic dissensions in Scotland. Charles wanted to execute his father's schemes in regard to religion, as well as government. Episcopacy was not suppressed in Scotland at the beginning of the reformation, before Mary Stuart's time; but those protestant bishops were subject to the presbyterians. The Scotch were governed by a republic of priests, all on a perfect equality. This was the only country in the world, where bishops derived no power from wealth and honours. They preserved their seats in parliament, their rights of peerage, and their ecclesiastical revenues; but they were pastors without a flock, and peers without weight or influence. The Scotch parliament, being all presbyterians, suffered episcopacy to continue, only to render it contemptible. The antient abbeyes were in the hands of the laity, who took

their seats in parliament in virtue of this title. By degrees the number of those titular abbots diminished. James I restored episcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not allowed to do this, as head of the church in Scotland; but being a native of the country, and distributing English money, with pensions, and offices among several members, he was more master at Edinburgh than at London. The restoration of episcopacy did not hinder the presbyterian assembly. Those two bodies always clashed, but the synodic commonwealth generally prevailed over the episcopal monarchy. James who looked upon the bishops as staunch friends, and the calvinistical elders as enemies, of the throne, thought he should be able at length to reconcile the people of Scotland to episcopacy, by introducing a new liturgy among them, the same as that of the church of England. He died without finishing his design, which his son Charles would fain carry into execution.

1637. This liturgy consisted in some forms of prayer, a few ceremonies, and a surplice which the ministers were to wear in church. No sooner had the bishop of Edinburgh made a publication of the canons, whereby those different usages were established, than the people all rose up in great fury, and pelted him with stones. The disturbance spread to other towns. The presbyterians entered into a covenant, as if the point in question had been nothing less than the subversion of all laws human and divine. On the one hand that passion which prompts the great to support their enterprizes, and on the other the fury of a fanatic mob, produced a civil war in Scotland. Little

Little was it then suspected, that cardinal Richelieu could be the man, who fomented this civil war, and who paved the way for the fatal catastrophe of Charles I. This despotic minister wanted to hinder Mary de Medicis from being sheltered in England by her daughter; and to engage Charles in the interests of France: but the English monarch, more haughty than politic, gave such a refusal as irritated the cardinal. We find in a letter from this minister to the count d'Estrades, at that time envoy in England, these remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: *The king and queen of England will repent, before a year be at an end, their having neglected my offers: they will soon be convinced that they ought not to despise me.*

One of the cardinal's secretaries was an Irish priest, whom he sent with money to London and to Edinburgh, in order to sow discord among the puritans; and the letter to count d'Estrades remains a monument of that dark proceeding. Were we to open the archives of all countries, we should see religion ever sacrificed to interest and revenge.

The Scotch took up arms. Charles had re- 1638.
course to the church of England, and even to the English Roman catholics, who were equally animated against the puritans. They supplied him with money because it was a religious war; and for a few months he had an army of twenty thousand men. This army was hardly of any 1639.
other use to him than to negotiate; and when the greatest part disbanded for want of pay, the negotiations were rendered more difficult. He was 1640.
therefore under a necessity of determining once

more upon war. History furnishes us with very few examples of magnanimity comparable to that of the king's privy council; they sacrificed great part of their fortunes to his majesty. The celebrated Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, and especially the marquis of Hamilton, distinguished themselves by their generosity on this occasion: the famous earl of Strafford alone gave twenty thousand pounds: but these contributions being insufficient, the king was once more obliged to call a parliament.

April

13.
1640.

The house of commons did not look upon the Scotch as their enemies, but as brethren who taught them to defend their privileges. The king could get nothing from them but bitter invectives against the several methods, which he had practised to raise the supplies. All the rights which the king had arrogated to himself, were declared usurpations: as the duty of tunnage and poundage, the ship money, the sale of exclusive privileges to merchants, the billeting of soldiers upon the inhabitants, in fine every restraint upon public liberty. But their chief complaint was against a court of justice called the *Star Chamber**, which had exercised its jurisdiction with too great severity on many of the inhabitants. The king dissolved this new parliament, and thus increased the grievances of the nation.

May

5.
1640.

One would imagine that Charles had studied to exasperate the minds of his subjects: for instead of indulging the city of London under such

* A chamber in Westminster hall so called, because the ceiling was adorned with figures of stars; here the lord Chancellor antiently kept a court to punish riots, forgeries, &c. advances towards heinous or capital crimes not actually committed.

delicate circumstances, he ordered the Londoners to be cited before the Star Chamber for the usurpation of some lands in Ireland, and had them grievously fined. He continued to levy every tax that the parliament had railed against. Were a despotic prince to act in this manner, his people would revolt; how much more the subjects of a limited monarchy? Being but ill supported by the English, and undermined by the intrigues of cardinal Richelieu, he could not hinder the Scotch army of puritans from penetrating as far as Newcastle. Having thus paved the way for his own misfortunes, he convened the parliament which completed his ruin.

Nov.

This assembly began, like all the rest, with petitioning for a redress of grievances, for the suppression of the Star Chamber, and of arbitrary taxes, particularly that of ship money; in a word for triennial parliaments. Charles no longer able to resist, granted every thing. He imagined he should recover his authority by complying; but he was mistaken. He reckoned that his parliament would help him to be revenged of the Scotch, who had made an irruption into England; and this very parliament made the Scotch a present of three hundred thousand pounds, for beginning a civil war. He flattered himself he should be able to humble the puritan party in England; and very near the whole house of commons were puritans. He was extremely fond of the earl of Strafford, who had so generously devoted himself to his service; for which reason the house of commons impeached the earl of high treason. They charged him with misdemeanors; but such as were inevitable

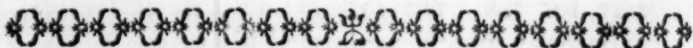
3.
164c.

in those troublesome times, such as his good intention to serve his sovereign, and the generosity with which he assisted him in his distress, might render excusable. The peers found him guilty; but the king's consent was requisite for his execution. The ferocious multitude called out aloud for his blood. Strafford's virtue went so far as to petition the king to consent to his death; and Charles was so weak as to sign this fatal sentence, which taught the English to spill other blood, far more precious.

May

12.

1641.



C H A P. CXLIX.

Of the misfortunes and death of Charles I.

ENgland, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as France, were at that time divided into violent factions; but in France it was only a cabal of princes and lords, against a prime minister who aimed at reducing their power; whereas the party divisions in England implied a general convulsion in the minds of the people, a strong desire of changing the constitution of the kingdom, an ill judged design of the royalists to establish despotic power, an extravagant passion in the people for liberty, thirst of power in the house of commons, an inclination in the bishops to crush the puritans, a scheme formed by the latter to humble the bishops, in fine a regular but concealed plan in those who were called *independents*, to take advantage of the mis-
takes

takes of all the rest, in order to become the pre-dominant party.

In the midst of these disturbances, the Roman catholics of Ireland thought it a very good^{23.} opportunity to shake off the English yoke. Religion and liberty, sources of the most important actions, hurried them into an attempt, unparalleled in history, except by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. They conspired to assassinate in one day all the protestants of Ireland; and accordingly they cut the throats of above forty thousand. The king was then in Scotland, where tranquillity was scarce restored; while the house of commons took upon them the government of England. The Irish Roman catholics, in order to justify this massacre, pretended to have a commission from the king himself to take up arms; so that while Charles was asking succours of Scotland and England against the Irish rebels, he saw himself accused of the very crime which he wanted to punish. The Scotch with good reason refer him to the English parliament, because Ireland in fact is dependent on England, and not on Scotland. He therefore returns to London. The house of commons believing, or pretending to believe he had a share in the Irish rebellion, send very little money and but few troops into that island, lest they should leave England exposed; but they make a terrible remonstrance to the king.

The purport was, "that henceforwards he must have no other council but such as the parliament shall appoint; and in case of refusal they threaten to take other measures."

Three members of the lower house presented

this address to him on their knees, which in the main was declaring war against him. Oliver Cromwell was at that time a member of the house of commons: he said, *that if this motion for an address did not pass, he would sell what little estate he had, and retire out of England.*

This speech shews that he was then an enthusiast for liberty, though hurried by ambition, he trampled it afterwards under his feet.

Charles durst not dissolve the parliament; they would not have obeyed him. He had still of his side a great many officers of the army, heretofore raised against Scotland, who constantly attended his person. He was also supported by the bishops, and by the catholic party about London, who had formerly aimed at exterminating the royal family by the gunpowder conspiracy, but were now entirely in the king's interest; every body else was against the king*. The London mob spirited up by the puritans of the house of commons, raise an insurrection in the city; and going to the door of the parliament house they cry out, *no bishops, no bishops.* T'welve of the prelates withdraw through fear, and protest against the whole proceedings of parliament during their absence: the house of lords commit them to the Tower; and soon after the rest of the bishops retire from parliament.

In this decline of royal power, lord Digby, one of the king's favourites, gave him the fatal counsel of supporting his credit by an exertion of authority. The king forgot that this was

* Here Voltaire is charged with a mistake, the king's cause at that time being espoused by the richest and best protestant lords in England. the

Nov.
26.
1641.

Dec.
30.
1641.

the very time he ought not to have run any hazard of losing it. He went himself in per-^{Jan. 5.}son to the house of commons, in order to ¹⁶⁴¹seize on five of the members his most violent opponents, whom he charged with high treason. Those members had made their escape; and the house of commons loudly protested against the violation of their privileges. The king like a man that has lost his way and knows not where to turn, goes from the house of commons to Guildhall, to demand succours. The common council answer him with complaints against himself. He retires to Windsor, and, unable to support the measure to which he had been advised, he writes to the commons, *That he is ready to drop his proceedings against the members, and that he will take as much care of the privileges of parliament, as of his own life.* His violence had made him odious, and now his submission renders him contemptible.

The house of commons was then beginning to govern the state. The peers sit in parliament *of their own right*; this is the ancient privilege of the barons, and of the feudal lords: the commons are in parliament, as representatives of the towns and boroughs, by which they are elected. The people had a great deal more confidence in their deputies than in the peers. The latter to recover their influence which was gradually declining, joined in the same sentiments with the people, and maintained the authority of a parliament, of which they originally constituted the principal branch.

During this state of anarchy, the Irish rebels rode triumphant, and after embruing their hands

in the blood of their countrymen, they sheltered themselves under the authority of the king, and especially of the queen his wife, who was a Roman catholic. The two houses propose to arm the militia of the kingdom, intending always that it shall be commanded by officers dependent on the parliament. By the laws of the realm nothing could be done in regard to the militia without the king's consent. The parliament expected of course that he would refuse to sign a regulation made against himself. The king retires, or rather flies to the north of England. His wife Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV, possessed of all the qualities, the activity, the intrepidity, the winning deportment, and even the gallantry of the king her father, acted as an heroine in assisting a husband, to whom in other respects she was unfaithful*. She sells her effects and her jewels, and borrows money in England and Holland, which she gives to her husband. After this she goes over to Holland herself in order to solicit succours by means of the princess Mary her daughter, married to the prince of Orange. She negotiates at the northern courts; and seeks every where for relief, except in her native country, where cardinal Richelieu her enemy, and the king her brother, were a dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had of their own authority appointed Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, a small sea-port town in Yorkshire. This place had magazines of arms and provisions. The king appears before the town, and wants to enter it. Hotham shuts the gates; but still preserving a shew of respect for his sovereign, he kneels down on the ramparts and

* This has been censured as a false imputation, which he never found in any authentic history. also

asks pardon for refusing him admittance. Charles afterwards met with those who treated him with less ceremony. England swarms with manifestos and declarations from both king and parliament. The lords of the king's party attend his person. He sends to London for the great seal of England, without which the nation used to think there could be no law; yet the parliament found means to publish the acts which they made against him. He sets up his royal standard at Nottingham. Only a few militia flock to him in the beginning. At length what with the succours brought him by the queen his consort, with the presents from the university of Oxford, who gave him all her plate, and with the supplies from his friends, he mustered up an army of about fourteen thousand men.

The parliament, having the disposal of the public money, raised a more considerable force. Charles began with protesting, in the presence of his army, *that he would live and die in the true protestant religion, that he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of the parliament that had revolted against him.* His armies were generally commanded by prince Rupert, brother * of Frederic the unfortunate elector Palatine; a prince of great courage, and celebrated also for his knowledge in natural philosophy, in which he made some discoveries.

The battles of Worcester and Edgehill were favourable to the royal cause. The king drew towards London: the queen, having brought him troops, artillery, arms, and ammunition from Holland, went back for fresh supplies, with which she arrived some months after-

* This is a mistake: prince Rupert was son to that elector.

wards. The parliament were not dismayed; they knew their resources, and notwithstanding their defeat, they behaved like sovereigns against whom the king was in rebellion.

Whosoever offered to deliver up any place to the king, was condemned to death by the parliament for high treason; yet the king would make no reprisals against his prisoners. This alone may justify, in the eye of posterity, the prince who was so criminal in the eye of his people. He is not so well justified in politics for having spent too much time in negotiating, while he should have profited by his first successes, and exerted that active intrepidity, by which alone such disputes can be decided.

Sept. 20, 1643. Charles and prince Rupert, though beaten at Newbury,* had the advantage upon the whole of the campaign. The parliament only grew more obstinate. It was very extraordinary that a senate, or popular assembly, should pursue their purpose with more steadiness and resolution, than a king at the head of his army.

Sept. 25, 1643. At length the puritans, who were predominant in both houses, pulled off the mask: they solemnly joined with the Scotch, and signed the famous covenant, whereby they engaged to demolish episcopacy. By this covenant it was visible, that the Scotch and English puritans wanted to form themselves into a republic. This was the spirit of calvinism; the professors of that sect had long aimed at such a revolution in France; they brought it to pass in Holland; but in France and England there

* It was rather a drawn battle: Lord Clarendon endeavours to prove that the king gained the victory.

was no possibility of attaining an end so agreeable to the people, without wading through rivers of blood.

While the presbyterians were thus up in arms in England and Scotland, the catholic religion served as a pretence to the Irish rebels, who had stained their hands in the blood of forty thousand of their countrymen, and continued to defend themselves against the troops which the parliament sent over from England. The religious wars under Lewis XIII were still recent; and the invasion of Germany by the Swedes, under pretence of religion, was an example before their eyes. It is a most deplorable thing that Christians should, for such a succession of ages, derive pretences from the doctrine, worship, discipline, and hierarchy of their religion, to render those parts of Europe, where they are settled, a scene of perpetual slaughter and confusion.

The fury of the civil war was fomented by that gloom and savage austerity, which the puritans constantly affected. The parliament took this opportunity to burn, by the hands of the common hangman, a small book of king James I, wherein that learned monarch maintained the lawfulness of diverting one's self on sundays after divine service. They imagined hereby to promote the cause of religion, and to affront the prince on the throne. Some time after this, the same parliament thought proper to ordain a fast-day once a week, and that the value of the meal retrenched, should go towards defraying the expences of the civil war.

We must not think that in those factions,

ons, either in England, Ireland, or Scotland, whether among the royalists, or their enemies, there were many of those artful men, who free from the prejudices of party, made the errors and fanaticism of the multitude subservient to their own ambitious purposes. This was not the disposition of those people. Almost every body was sincerely engaged in the party he had embraced. Most of those who changed sides on the account of particular pique or discontent, did it openly. The independents were the only persons that concealed their design; in the first place, because being hardly considered as Christians, they would have given too great offence to the other sects; secondly they had fanatic notions of the original equality of mankind, a system extremely repugnant to the ambitious views of the rest.

A strong proof, among others, of that inflexible rigour, which had soured the minds of the people, was the execution of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, who was condemned to death by parliament, after four years imprisonment. The only crime alledged against him, that can be fairly proved, was his having made use of several ceremonies of the Romanists in consecrating a church at London. The sentence pronounced against him was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, the ordinary punishments of traitors: but they did him the favour to cut off his head.

Jan.

10.

1644 $\frac{4}{5}$.

Charles, perceiving the parliaments of England and Scotland united against him, and finding himself hard pressed between the armies of both kingdoms, thought it advisable to conclude a truce with the rebel catholics of Ireland, in

order

order to bring over part of the English troops employed in that island. This policy succeeded. His army was not only increased with numbers of the English that had served in that country, but likewise by a great many Irish. Upon this the parliament loudly accused him of being the author of the Irish massacre and rebellion. Unfortunately those troops, on which he greatly depended, were defeated by lord Fairfax *, one of the parliament's generals; so that the king had only the vexation of giving his enemies a colour to charge him with being an accomplice of the Irish. ^{Jan. 25, 1643}

One misfortune followed close upon another. Prince Rupert, having long maintained the honour of the royal arms, was beaten in the neighbourhood of York †, and his army dispersed by Manchester and Fairfax. Charles retires to Oxford, where he is soon besieged. The queen flies to France. The danger the king is reduced to, excites his friends to make further efforts. The siege of Oxford is raised. Charles assembles a few troops, and meets with some success; but this did not continue long. The parliament were ever in a condition to oppose him with a superior army. Their generals, Essex, Manchester, and Waller, attack Charles at Newbury, upon the road to Oxford. Cromwell ^{Oct. 27, 1644} was colonel in their army, and had already signalized himself by extraordinary feats of valour. It is reported, that at this very battle of Newbury, the wing commanded by Manchester having given way, and Manchester himself going with the tide, Cromwell, wounded as he was,

* This is a mistake: it was Sir Thomas Fairfax.

† The battle of Marston Moor.

ran up to him, and said, *You are mistaken, my lord, the enemy are not that way*; upon which he brought him back; so that the success of the day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This however is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much credit in the house of commons, as he had reputation in the army, accused the general of neglect of duty.

The propensity of the English to things uncommon and extraordinary, produced at that time an odd phænomenon, which displayed the character of Cromwell, at the same time that it laid the foundation of his grandeur, of the ruin of the parliament and episcopacy, of the murder of the king, and the destruction of the monarchy. The sect of independents began to make some noise. The most violent presbyterians had thrown themselves into this party: they resembled the quakers inasmuch as they would have no priests but themselves, and no other interpretation of the gospel, than their own natural sense; they differed in this, that they were full as turbulent, as the quakers were pacific. Their chimerical project was that of equality among mankind; but they were for establishing this equality by violence. Oliver Cromwell looked upon these people as proper tools for promoting his designs.

The city of London, being divided into several factions, complained that the parliament laid the whole burthen of the civil war upon her shoulders. Cromwell caused a proposal to be made to the house of commons by some independents, of new modelling the army, and of engaging both lords and commons to renounce

nounce all civil and military employments. These were all at that time possessed by members of both houses. Three peers were generals of the parliamentary armies. Most of the colonels and majors, commissaries of stores, and agents of all sorts, were of the house of commons. Would one think it possible to persuade, by strength of words, such a number of men in power to sacrifice their dignities and their emoluments? And yet this is what was effected in one single session. The house of commons especially was struck with the idea, of reigning over the hearts of the people, by a disinterestedness beyond example. This act was called *the self-denying ordinance*. The peers hesitated; ^{April 3^d 1645.} but the house of commons dragged them into it. The lords Essex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Manchester resigned their commissions of their own accord; but Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general's son, not being a member of the house of commons, was nominated to the sole command of the army. This is what Cromwell wanted: he had an absolute ascendant over Sir Thomas; and so great was his influence in the house, that they suffered him to keep the command of a regiment, though he was member of parliament: they even ordered the general to entrust him with the command of the horse, which they were then sending to Oxford. The same man, who had so artfully deprived the members of both houses of their military employments, had the policy to continue all the officers of the independent party; and then it quickly appeared that the army must govern the parliament. The new general Fairfax, with
Cromwell's

Cromwell's assistance, new modelled the army, incorporated some regiments into others, changed the different corps, and established a new discipline. What at any other time would have occasioned a mutiny, was done now without the least resistance.

June
14.
1645.

The army, animated with a new spirit, marched directly towards the king in the neighbourhood of Oxford; and soon after was fought the decisive battle of Naseby. Cromwell, general of the horse, after routing the royal cavalry, put the infantry also to flight, and had almost the sole honour of that famous day. The royal army, after great slaughter, was either taken or dispersed. All the towns surrendered to Fairfax and to Cromwell. The young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, sharing betimes his father's misfortunes, was obliged to fly to the isle of Scilly. The king retired to Oxford with the shattered remains of his army, and sued to his parliament for peace, which they would not grant. The house of commons insulted him in his disgrace. The general sends them the king's cabinet of papers, found on the field of battle, containing letters from his queen. Some of those letters, fraught with expressions of tender sorrow, were read in the house with that bitter raillery, which is ever the characteristic of cruel minds.

May
5.

1646.

The king was then at Oxford, a city hardly to be called fortified, between the victorious army of the English, and the Scotch army in English pay. Thinking he should be safer among the latter, who were less incensed against his person, he surrendered himself to the Scotch army.

army. But, the house of commons having paid the Scotch two hundred thousand pounds of their arrears, and being indebted to them as much more, the king from that moment ceased to be free.

The Scotch delivered the king up to the Jan. commissaries of the English parliament, who at first did not know how to behave towards their 30. captive king. The war seemed to be at an end; the Scotch army had taken their money, and were going back to their country; and the parliament had nothing to fear but their own forces, which had rendered them victorious. But here Cromwell and the independents were predominant. This parliament, or rather the house of commons, being still all powerful at London, and perceiving that the army was likely to be uppermost, wanted to get rid of those servants who were become so dangerous; and therefore they voted that part of the forces should be sent to Ireland, and part disbanded. It is easy to imagine that Cromwell would not suffer this. Now was the critical moment: he formed a council of officers, and another of common soldiers called *agitators*, who at first made remonstrances, and afterwards gave the law. The king was in the hands of commissioners of the parliament, at a place called Holmby- June. house *: a detachment of horse, from the council of *agitators*, went and seized upon his person, and conveyed him to Newmarket. 1647.

After this bold stroke the army marched towards London. Cromwell, chusing to colour his acts of violence with the usual forms, makes the army impeach eleven members, who were

* In Northamptonshire.

declared

declared enemies of the independent party. Those members withdrew, and durst no more appear in the house of commons. The city of London at length opened her eyes, when it was too late, and saw a scene of the highest misery: a tyrannical parliament tyrannized in its turn by the army; her captive king in the hands of the soldiery; and herself at their mercy. The common-council assemble the militia, and cause intrenchments to be thrown up in a hurry about the town: but as soon as the army arrived, London opened her gates, and was silent. The parliament delivered up the Tower to general Fairfax, thanked the army for disobeying their orders, and gave them money.

Aug.
6,
1647.

It remained still to know what was to be done with the captive king, whom the independents had removed to the royal palace at Hampton-court. Cromwell on the one hand, and the presbyterians on the other, were treating with him. The Scotch made a proposal to rescue him from his confinement. Charles, equally afraid of all parties, made his escape from Hampton-court, and got over to the isle of Wight, where he thought he should find an asylum: but he only changed his prison.

Nov.
21.
1647.

During this anarchy of a factious despicable parliament, of a capital divided, of an audacious army, and of a captive fugitive king, the same spirit which had long animated the independents, seized all of a sudden on several soldiers of the army, who took the name of *levellers*, signifying that they wanted to bring every thing to an equality, and to acknowledge no superior at all, either in the army,
state,

state, or church. In this they were for doing no more than what the house of commons had done: they were imitating their officers; their right seemed to be as well founded as that of any of the rest; and their numbers were considerable. Cromwell, perceiving that they were a dangerous set of men, so much the more as they made use of his own principles, and that they were going to rob him of the fruit of all his toil and politics, took a sudden resolution to exterminate them, even at the risk of his life. One day, as they were assembled, he rides up to them at the head of his own regiment, with whom he had been ever victorious, and asking them in *the name of God* what would they be at, he charges them so briskly, that they scarce made any resistance. Several of them he ordered to be hanged; whereby he suppressed a faction, whose crime was that of having imitated his example. 1647.

This behaviour strengthened his authority in the army, as well as in parliament, and in the city of London. Fairfax was still general, but had not near so much credit as Oliver. The king, under confinement in the isle of Wight, continued to make proposals of peace, as if the war still subsisted, and his enemies were inclined to hear him. His second son, the duke of York, who was afterwards king James II, then only fifteen years of age, and a prisoner in St. James's palace, made his escape with more success than his father had done from Hampton-court; and went to Holland: some of the king's adherents, having gained over part of the navy of England, sailed to

to the Brille in Holland, to which port this young prince had retired. His brother the prince of Wales, and he, went on board the fleet, in order to succour their father; but this very step hastened his ruin.

The Scotch, ashamed of being reproached all over Europe with having sold their master, were assembling some troops in his favour. Several young noblemen were ready to join them in England. Cromwell marches against them with part of the army, and defeats them intirely at Preston, where he took duke Hamilton, the Scotch general, prisoner. The town of Colchester, in the county of Essex, having joined with the royalists, was obliged to surrender at discretion to general Fairfax; who ordered several persons of rank to be executed, for having encouraged the town to defend the cause of their sovereign.

Aug.
17.
1648.

Aug.
28.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were every where triumphant, the parliament, more afraid of Cromwell and the independents than they had been of the king, began to treat with his majesty, and to think how they should get rid of an army, on which they were more dependent than ever. The army, after a series of victories, being returned to London, insist that the king be brought to justice, as the cause of all the calamities of the nation; that his chief adherents be punished; and his children ordered to submit to parliament, upon pain of being declared guilty of high treason. The parliament made no answer. Cromwell causes all the officers of his army to present remonstrances to him, that the king be brought to his trial. General Fairfax who

who was so blind as not to see that he was acting for Cromwell, removes the captive monarch from the isle of Wight to Hurst castle, and from thence to Windsor, without so much as acquainting the parliament. The army march up to London, seize on all the posts, and oblige the city to pay them forty thousand pound sterling. Dec. 6. 1648.

The next day the house of commons were going to meet; but they find the door guarded by soldiers, who drove away most of the presbyterian members, the original authors of all the miseries of the kingdom, which now fall heavy upon themselves; none were suffered to enter but independents, and rigid presbyterians, the implacable enemies of royalty. The excluded members protest; and their protest is declared to be seditious. The remaining members of the house of commons were chiefly tradesmen devoted to the army. The officers in the house lord it without control; the city is brought into the same subjection; and the common council, who lately espoused the king's cause, directed now by their conquerors, present a remonstrance requiring him to be brought to justice.

The house of commons appoint a committee of thirty eight persons, to consider how to proceed juridically against the king. They erect a new court of justice, composed of Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, Waller, and a hundred and forty six commissioners. A few peers, who still met in the house of lords only for form, the rest having withdrawn were summoned to give their attendance at

at this illegal assembly; but not one of them would consent to it. Their refusal however did not hinder the new court of justice from proceeding.

Jan. 4. Upon this the commons resolve that the su-
 1648-9 preme power resides originally in the people; and that their representatives are invested with the legislative authority. This was a question, which the army determined by the mouths of a few citizens: but it was subverting the constitution of England. The nation indeed is legally represented by the king and the house of lords. Other countries have constantly complained, against the appointing of commissioners to try private subjects: and here a commission was issued by the remnant of a parliament, to try their sovereign. There is no sort of doubt but the commons thought they had a right to try him; the house was now composed of independents, who were of opinion that nature made no difference betwixt them and the king, and that the only disparity then subsisting was that of the victorious over the conquered. The Memoirs of Ludlow, a colonel in the army, and one of the judges, shew how greatly their pride was flattered, at having it in their power to condemn their former master. This same Ludlow, a rigid presbyterian, leaves no room to doubt, but fanaticism had a share in this catastrophe. He fully discloses the spirit of the times by quoting this passage of the Old Testament: *The country cannot be purified from blood, but by the blood of him who spilt it.*

Jan. At length Fairfax, Cromwell, the indepen-
 1648-9 dents, and the presbyterians, thought the king's death

death necessary for their purpose of establishing a republic. Cromwell surely could not flatter himself at that time with the notion of succeeding the king; he was only a lieutenant-general in an army divided into factions. In such an army, and in a republican government, he might expect, and with good reason, a reputation from his exploits, and from his ascendancy over the army. But had he then formed a design to be acknowledged sovereign of three kingdoms, he would not have deserved it. The human mind, in all kinds of pursuits, proceeds by degrees; and these degrees insensibly led to Cromwell's advancement, for which he was indebted only to his valour, and to fortune.

Charles I, king of England, Scotland, and ^{Jan.} Ireland, died by the hands of a public executioner, ^{30,} before Whitehall; his body was carried to ¹⁶⁴⁸⁻⁹ Windsor chapel, where it could never be found. Kings of England had been heretofore deposed by acts of parliament: the wives of kings had been publicly executed: English commissioners had pronounced sentence of death on Mary queen of Scotland, over whom they had no more authority, than a gang of banditti: but no instance was remembered of a nation bringing their king to the scaffold with the formality of justice. We must ascend three hundred years higher than our æra, to find an example of such a catastrophe, in the person of Agis * king of Sparta.

* This was Agis IV. the 26th. king of Sparta, who having formed a design of restoring the antient discipline of his country, was thrown into prison by one of the Ephori, where he was strangled by the public executioner. See Plut. in *vita Agidis*.

C H A P. CL.

Of Cromwell.

AFTER the murder of Charles I, the house of commons published an act to prohibit, upon pain of death, the acknowledging his son or any other person as king of England. They abolished the upper house, which had been reduced to sixteen peers; so that they remained in all appearance, sovereigns of England and Ireland.

But this house, which ought to consist of five hundred and thirteen members*, was at that time composed only of fourscore. They made a new great seal, on which were engraved these words: *The Parliament of the commonwealth of England.* They had already pulled down the king's statue on the Royal Exchange, and put this inscription in its stead: *Charles the last king, and the first tyrant.*

This same house of commons caused several lords to be put to death, who had been taken fighting for their king. It was not at all surprising that they should break through the rules of war, after having violated the laws of nations; and in order to make the breach more notorious, the duke of Hamilton, a Scotchman, was one of the condemned. This behaviour contributed greatly to determine the Scotch to acknowledge Charles II for their king: but the love of liberty was so deeply ingraved in their hearts, that they laid the same restriction on the royal authority, as the English parliament had done at

* Thus it was before the union; it now consists of 558.
the

the beginning of the troubles. Ireland recognized the new king without any conditions. Cromwell contrives to be appointed lord-governor of that island, for which he embarks with the flower of his troops, and meets with his usual success.

In the mean while Charles II was invited to Scotland by the parliament of that nation, but upon the same terms as they had prescribed to the king his father. They insisted on his becoming a presbyterian; as the Parisians had insisted that his grandfather Henry IV should turn Roman catholic. They cramped the royal authority in every thing; and Charles would have it perfect and intire. His father's example did not weaken those ideas, which seem to be innate in monarchs. The first fruit of his being called to the throne of Scotland, was a civil war. The marquis of Montrose, a nobleman celebrated in those days, for his attachment to the royal family, and for his valour, had landed in the north of Scotland with a few soldiers from Germany and Denmark; and being followed by some highlanders, he was for asserting the king's rights by conquest: but he was defeated, taken prisoner, and hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high.

Charles II having no other resource, went 1650. over from Holland, to resign himself into the hands of those, who had but just hanged his general and chief support; he made his entry into Edinburg through the very gate where Montrose's quarters were set up. The parliament of England immediately prepared to make war against Scotland, not chusing that one half of the island should have a king who pretended

to the other. This new commonwealth shewed as much conduct in supporting, as they had given marks of enthusiastic madness in effectuating, the revolution. It was amazing to all the world, that a few obscure citizens, without any great personage to head them, should exclude the peers of the realm from their seats in parliament, strip the bishops of their privileges, contain the people within bounds, maintain an army of about sixteen thousand men in Ireland, and as many in England, support a large and well provided fleet, discharge every branch of the public revenue with the utmost exactness, while not one member of the house of commons enriched himself at the expence of the nation. In order to answer all these exigencies, they applied with the most scrupulous œconomy, the revenue heretofore annexed to the crown, and the lands belonging to the bishops and chapters, which were sold for ten years. In a word the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling per month, a tax ten times heavier than that duty of ship money which Charles I had usurped, and which had been the cause of so many disasters.

This English parliament was not governed by Cromwell, who was then in Ireland with his son-in-law Ireton; but by the independent faction, with whom he was still in high credit. The parliament resolved to send an army into Scotland, and to make Cromwell serve under general Fairfax. Cromwell received orders to come away from Ireland, when he had very near subdued the island. General Fairfax, who was not an independent, but a presbyterian, refused to

to march against the Scotch. He pretended that he could not in conscience fight against his brethren, who had made no attack upon England. Their arguments had no effect with him; so that he lays down his commission, to pass the remainder of his days in peace. This was an extraordinary resolution, considering the times and the country, where each man acted according to his own private principles. From hence we may date the æra of Cromwell's greatness; who ^{June} was named general in Fairfax's stead. He marched ^{26,} into Scotland with an army long accustomed to ^{1650.} victory. He begins with beating the Scotch at ^{Sept.} Dunbar, and makes himself master of Edinburgh. ^{3,} From thence he follows Charles II, who had advanced as far as Worcester, in hopes that the English royalists would join him; but this prince's troops were new raised and undisciplined. Crom- ^{Sept.} well attacks him on the banks of the Severn, ^{3,} and after a short resistance obtains a most com- ^{1651.} plete victory. About seven thousand prisoners were brought up to London, and sold to the American plantations. The victorious army became masters of all Scotland; and Cromwell followed close in pursuit of the king.

Imagination, the parent of romance, has scarce invented more extraordinary adventures, more pressing dangers, more cruel hardships than those which Charles II underwent, flying from the murderer of his father. He was obliged to walk almost alone through unfrequented paths, as far as Staffordshire. Pursued by Cromwell's soldiers, he hid himself in a hollow oak in the midst of a wood, where he spent a whole day and night. This oak was still exist-

ing at the beginning of this century. Astronomers have placed it among the constellations of the south pole, thus eternizing the memory of this prince's misfortunes. Charles after wandering from village to village, disguised in different forms, of a post boy, of a young girl, and
 Oa. of a wood cleaver, made his escape at length on
 22, board a small vessel, and landed in Normandy
 1651. after a series of incredible adventures.

In the mean time Cromwell returned triumphant to London. Most of the members of parliament, and the speaker at their head, with the lord mayor and common council, went went to meet him some miles from the capital. His first care, as soon as he came to town, was to persuade the parliament to make a wrong use of a victory, that had been extremely
 Oa. flattering to the English nation. They united
 1651. Scotland, as a country subdued by their arms, to England; and the regal dignity was abolished among the conquered, after the example set by the conquerors.

Never did England make a more glorious figure, than while it was a commonwealth. This republican parliament formed a very odd project
 1652. of joining the seven United Provinces to England, in the same manner as they had united Scotland. William II stadtholder, and son-in-law of Charles I, had died lately, after attempting to make himself absolute master in Holland, as Charles had attempted in England, and with no better success. He left a son in the cradle: the parliament were therefore in hopes that the Dutch would conduct affairs without a stadtholder, as England conducted herself now without a king;
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and that the new republic of England, Scotland, and Holland would hold the balance of Europe. But the partisans of the house of Orange having opposed this project, which seemed to favour greatly of the enthusiastic spirit of the times, April this same enthusiasm made the English parliament declare war against Holland. The fleets of both nations engaged at sea with alternate success. The most zealous republicans in parliament, apprehensive of Cromwell's great authority, continued this war, meerly to have a pretext for increasing the fleet, and reducing the army, that the dangerous power of the general might be gradually destroyed.

Cromwell saw into their designs, as they did into his: and then it was that he threw off all disguise. *I am forced*, said he to major general Vernon, *to take a step, which makes the very hair of my head stand of an end.* He went to the house attended by a few officers and a file of musketeers, who planted themselves at the door. After he was seated, *I think*, said he, *this parliament is ripe for a dissolution.* Some of the members reproaching him with ingratitude, he stands up and says, *The Lord hath done with you; he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work.* After this fanatic speech he loaded them with the vilest language, telling one that he was a drunkard, another that he led a scandalous life, such as the gospel condemns, and that they should dissolve that instant. The soldiers with their officers entering the house, *take away the mace*, said he, *that fool's bauble.* Major general Harrison goes up to the speaker, and pulls him out of the chair. *You have forced me to this*, said

Cromwell; *I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me upon this work.* Having said these words, he ordered the members to walk out one after the other; then he locked the door himself, and put the key into his pocket.

What is very extraordinary, that though the parliament was annihilated in this furious manner, and an end put to all legislative power, yet no confusion ensued. Cromwell called a council of officers. It was they that really changed the constitution of England; which indeed is no more than hath been practised in all parts of the world, where the strong give laws to the weak. Cromwell made this council nominate a hundred and forty deputies of the people, the greatest part of them low mechanics. One of the most active members of this new parliament of England was a leather-seller, named *Barebone*; which was the reason of giving to this assembly the denomination of *Barebone's parliament*. Cromwell in quality of general wrote a circular letter to all those deputies; convoking them to come and govern England, Scotland, and Ireland. At the end of five months this pretended parliament, composed of persons equally ignorant and contemptible, were obliged to dissolve themselves, and to resign the supreme power into the hands of the council of war. The officers declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms. The lord mayor and court of aldermen were sent for: and Cromwell was installed in the royal palace at Whitehall, where he took up his residence. They gave him the title of highness; and the city of London invited him to a feast with the same

Dec.

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1653.

same honours as had been heretofore paid to their monarchs. Thus did a private gentleman of the county of Huntingdon * raise himself to be king under another name, by his valour and hypocrisy.

Cromwell was then near fifty-three years of age, and had lived till he was forty-two without any employment, civil or military. He was scarce known in 1642, when the house of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commission of major of horse. Thence he rose to govern both the parliament and the army. After conquering Charles I and Charles II, he ascended the throne in reality, and reigned without the title of king, but with more authority and success than any monarch. He began his administration with chusing from among the officers, who had been companions of his victories, a council of fourteen, to each of whom he allowed a salary of a thousand pounds a year. The troops were always paid a month before hand; the magazines were filled, there was a reserve of three hundred thousand pounds in the exchequer, which was at his disposal; and he had a hundred and fifty thousand pounds in Ireland. The Dutch sued to him for peace, which he granted on condition that they should pay him three hundred thousand pounds; that their ships should strike their flag before the English; and that the young prince of Orange should never be restored to the employments of his ancestors. It is this same prince of Orange that after-

* The original says, *of the principality of Wales*, but this is a mistake, unless the author means his extraction, which was originally of Glamorganshire.

wards dethroned king James II, as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

Foreign nations vied with each other in paying their court to the protector. France sought his alliance against Spain, and put him in possession of the town of Dunkirk. His fleets drove the Spaniards out of Jamaica, which has ever since been in the possession of England. Ireland was entirely reduced, and treated like a conquered province. The Irish estates were given to the victors; and those who were most zealous in the defence of their country, perished by the hands of executioners.

Cromwell governed the realm with the authority of a king. He summoned parliaments, which were intirely at his disposal, and he dissolved them whenever he pleased. He discovered every plot that was formed against him, and prevented insurrections. No peer ever sat in any of his
1656. parliaments; they all lived in obscurity upon their estates. He had the artifice to engage one of those parliaments to offer him the title of king, that he might have the opportunity of refusing it, and be the abler to preserve his real power. He led a gloomy life in the palace of the English kings, without pomp or luxury. Ludlow, his deputy in Ireland, relates, that the protector sent his son Henry to that kingdom, with one domestic only. His manners were severe; he was sober and temperate; an œconomist without desiring the property of others, laborious and diligent in all his affairs. He was particularly dextrous in managing all sects whatever, neither persecuting the catholics nor those of the church of England, who at that time durst hardly shew
their

their faces: he had chaplains of all parties; he was an enthusiast when in company with fanatics; he supported the presbyterians, when he was no longer afraid of that sect, though he had deceived and crushed them before; with the deists he laughed at the presbyterian cant; but he reposed his intire confidence in the independents, who could not subsist without him. By such conduct he preserved his authority till death, an authority cemented with blood, and maintained by fraud and violence.

Notwithstanding his sobriety, nature had fixed ^{Sept.} the period of his days at fifty-eight. He died of ^{15,} a common fever, probably the effect of tyranni- ^{1658.} cal inquietude: for the latter part of his life he was always afraid of being assassinated, and would never lie two nights successively in the same chamber. He died, after nominating his son, Richard Cromwell, to succeed him in the protectorship. No sooner was the breath out of his body, than one of his chaplains, a presbyterian, whose name was Harry *, said to the standers by; *Do not be uneasy, since he protected God's people while he was among us below, he will surely protect them much more, now that he is mounted to heaven, where he must be seated at Christ's right hand.* Such was the power of fanaticism, and so greatly was Cromwell respected, that no body laughed at this speech.

Notwithstanding the different interests by which the minds of the people were divided, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council ordered a more magnificent funeral for his father, than had been ever

* I cannot find any such chaplain; perhaps it is a mistake, and he means Hugh Peters.

seen at the death of any king. For their model they pitched upon the solemnities exhibited at the interment of Philip II, king of Spain. It is observable, that Philip had been represented in purgatory two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with a few torches: afterwards they represented him in heaven, the body lying on a bed embroidered with gold, in a hall hung with the same, illuminated with five hundred torches, which, being reflected by silver plates, cast a light that rivalled the resplendency of the sun. All this was punctually imitated for Oliver Cromwell; he was laid on a bed of state, with the crown on his head, and a golden scepter in his hand. The people took no notice of this imitation of a popish ceremony, nor of the extravagant expence. The body was embalmed, and interred in the chapel royal of Henry the seventh; whence it was afterwards dug up, and buried under the gallows in the reign of Charles II.



C H A P. CLI.

Of England under Charles II.

THE second protector, Richard Cromwell, not having the abilities of his father, could not expect his success: his scepter was not supported by the sword; and, as he had neither the bravery nor the hypocrisy of Oliver, he could neither command respect from the army, nor impose upon the parties and sects into which England was miserably divided. Oliver's council of war began with acting in defiance to Richard. This new protector pretended to strengthen his interest by calling

calling a parliament, where one house, composed of officers, should represent the peers of England, and the other, formed of English, Scotch, and Irish deputies, should represent the three kingdoms. But the leading men of the army obliged him to dissolve this assembly. The next thing they did was to restore the old parliament which had beheaded Charles I, and which Oliver Cromwell had so imperiously dissolved. This parliament were all republicans, as well as the army. They would have no king; nor would they have a protector. The officers draw up an address to the parliament of their own chusing, that all the adherents of the royal family shall be stripped of their employments for ever; and Richard Cromwell deprived of his protectorship. They treat him however honourably, desiring a pension of twenty thousand pounds a year for him, and eight thousand for his mother. The parliament refused to give him more than two thousand pounds*, and ordered him to remove in six days from Whitehall. He obeyed, without complaining; and lived afterwards as a private person.

There was no talk at that time either of peers or bishops. Charles II seemed to be as much abandoned by all the world as Richard Cromwell; and most courts of Europe believed that the English commonwealth would still continue. One of Cromwell's officers, whose name was Monk, restored the royal family. At that time he commanded the army in Scotland, which had subdued the country. The English parliament having resolved to break some officers of that army, this general determined to

* This is a mistake; they granted him 20000 l. to pay his debts, *Rapin*,
march

march into England, and to try his fortune. The three kingdoms were at that time in a state of anarchy. Part of Monk's army, which staid in Scotland, could not keep the people in subjection. The other, which followed Monk into England, had to deal with the troops of the republic. The parliament, apprehensive of both armies, wanted to have them under their command: so that there was danger of seeing all the horrors of civil war revived.

Monk, finding himself not powerful enough to succeed the two protectors, formed a scheme of restoring the royal family: but instead of spilling more blood, he embroiled the public affairs in such a manner by his negotiations, that he increased the anarchy, and brought the nation to the point he aimed at, of wishing for the king. Scarce was there any blood spilt on this occasion. In vain did Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, and a most violent republican, endeavour to renew the war; before he could muster a sufficient number of Oliver's veterans, he was prevented and taken prisoner by the troops under general Monk. A new parliament met. The peers, who had been so long excluded and forgotten, returned at length to their seats in parliament. The two houses acknowledged Charles II for their king, and he was accordingly proclaimed in London.

May
8,
1660.

Charles II, being thus recalled to England, without having contributed to this revolution otherwise than by his consent, and without having been obliged to submit to any conditions, set out for Breda, where he was then retired. The whole kingdom received him with acclama-

acclamations: and it seemed as if there had been no civil war. The parliament ordered the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Ireton his son-in-law, and Bradshaw, president of the high court of justice, to be dug up, and buried under the gallows at Tyburn. Of the regicides, or judges who had sat on the trial of Charles I. only ten were executed: not one of them shewed the least repentance; not one would acknowledge the reigning king. They all thanked God *for dying martyrs in the noblest and best of causes.* They were not only of the obstinate faction of the independents; but they followed the sect of anabaptists, who waited for the second coming of Christ, and for the fifth monarchy.

There were only nine bishops left in England; but the king soon filled up the number. The ancient order and forms were restored; while the pleasures and magnificence of a court succeeded the savage gloom, which so long had overspread the land. Charles introduced gallantry and entertainments into the palace of Whitehall, after it had been stained with his father's blood. The independents appeared no more; the puritans were kept in awe. Such a change did the spirit of the English nation receive, that the late civil war was burlesqued. Those four opinions, which had turned the brains of wild enthusiasts, were become the object of courtly laughter, and juvenile scorn. In the midst of so many religions, deism, of which the king made open profession, was predominant.

The royal society of London, which had been already formed, but was not established by letters patent till the year 1660, began to polish
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the manners of the English, while it enlarged their understandings. Polite literature revived once more, and received daily improvements. In Cromwell's time they had scarce been acquainted with any other knowledge, or branch of learning, than that of applying texts of the Old and New Testament to public dissensions, and to the most horrid revolutions. But now they entered into the investigation of nature, and began to follow the road pointed out by lord Bacon. The mathematics were soon carried to a degree of perfection, which even Archimedes would not have expected. A great man at length discovered the fundamental laws of the general constitution of the universe; so that, while other nations were amusing themselves with fables, the English had the honour of unfolding truths of the greatest sublimity. The researches of several ages in physics, were nothing to the single discovery of the nature of light. The progress in twenty years was rapid, was immense. This is a glory that will never fade. The fruit of genius and study is lasting; while the effects of ambition, fanaticism, and the passions, are destroyed, together with the times that gave them birth.

In the reign of Charles II, the national genius acquired immortal honour, though the government did not. The French taste, which prevailed at court, was introductive of gaiety and magnificence: but while it led the way to new customs and fashions, it produced a subjection to the interests of Lewis XIV. Charles, having been long a pensioner to France, made the English sometimes regret the usurpation

of Cromwell, when their nation was so greatly respected.

The parliaments of England and Scotland vied with each other, in granting the king all in their power, as a kind of reparation for the murder of his father. The English parliament in particular, which alone could render him powerful, allowed him a revênué of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, for himself and the several branches of the administration, independent of the service of the navy. Never had queen Elizabeth so much: yet Charles by his extravagance was always poor. The nation could not forgive his parting with Dunkirk, a place acquired by the arms and negotiations of Cromwell; he sold it for less than two hundred and forty thousand pounds.

The war he carried on, soon after the restoration, against the Dutch, was very expensive, since it cost the nation seven millions and a half sterling; and it was also ignominious, for admiral Ruyter sailed up the Medway as far as Chatham, and burnt the English ships in the harbour.

These miscarriages were intermixed with most terrible calamities. London was depopulated by ^{1666,} a pestilence towards the beginning of this reign; and almost the whole town was destroyed by fire. This misfortune, coming just after the plague, and in the midst of an unsuccessful war with Holland, seemed irretrievable. Yet, to the astonishment of all Europe, in less than three years was London rebuilt, more beautiful, more regular and commodious, than before. A single duty on coals, with the emulation of the citizens, was

was sufficient to execute this great undertaking. This is a strong instance of what human industry can atchieve; and disposes us the more to believe the relations of those ancient cities of Asia and Egypt, that were built with such expedition.

But neither these calamities, nor the grand enterprize of rebuilding London, nor the cabals into which the court and parliament were divided, could abate the pleasures and gaiety, which Charles II brought with him to England, as the growth of a country where he had resided several years. A French mistress, French wit, and, above all, French money, prevailed at court. Thus every thing was changing continually in England, except the love of liberty, which continued still the same in the hearts of the people; and the lust of absolute power, by which the king and his brother, who succeeded him, were invariably actuated. This was the source of so many intrigues and plots, that embittered his pleasures, and occasioned the erecting of scaffolds in the midst of courtly entertainments. Religious zeal, and fanatic enthusiasm, had no part in the endeavours of lord Shaftsbury, and of so many others, to exclude the duke of York from the succession: for lord Shaftsbury was a professed deist. It is true, they objected against the duke of York, afterwards James II, for being a papist; but it was arbitrary power, more than popery, that they were afraid of.

Charles II seems to have been the first king of England who bribed his parliaments, that
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is, who purchased the votes of members by private pensions: at least, in a country where scarce any thing is kept private, this method had never been made public before; there had been no proof that the kings his predecessors had ever taken this step, which shortens difficulties, and prevents contradictions.

The second parliament, which was summoned in 1679, proceeded against eighteen members of the former house of commons, which had sat eighteen years. They charged them with having received pensions from court; but as there was no law forbidding the subject to accept of a gratification from his sovereign, the prosecution dropped.

Nevertheless this new policy of the prince did not hinder the house of commons from voting unanimously, that the duke of York, as a declared papist, ought to be excluded from the crown. Thus it had been in France, when the catholic leaguers pretended to exclude Henry IV. The duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II, would fain act the part of the duke of Guise; but in the attempt he lost his head. The same motives, however, which had induced the whigs to exclude the duke of York, were the cause of his being dethroned, after he had succeeded his brother. Charles, perceiving that the house of commons, who had beheaded his father, wanted to disinherit his brother in his own life-time, and apprehending the consequences of such an attempt, dissolved ^{1679,} this parliament, and summoned no other the ^{and following} remaining part of his reign. ^{1681.}

Every thing was quiet, as soon as the clash-
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ing ceased betwixt the regal and parliamentary authority. The king was at length reduced to live frugally upon his revenue, and an annual pension of a hundred thousand pounds sterling from Lewis XIV. He maintained only a body of four thousand men to defend his person; yet the nation made as great a noise about this handful of troops, as if he had a potent army. His predecessors had seldom above a hundred men for their ordinary guard.

At that time there appeared only two political parties in England; the tories, who were for absolute submission to kings; and the whigs, who maintained the rights of the people, and limited those of the sovereign. The latter have generally prevailed over the former.

But what has raised England to so high a pitch of power is, that all parties, ever since the reign of queen Elizabeth, have equally concurred to the encouragement of trade. The very parliament that beheaded the king, was busied about commercial laws, as if it had been in the most peaceable times. The blood of Charles I was still reeking, when this assembly, though almost intirely composed of fanatics, made the famous act of navigation in 1650. This act was attributed to Cromwell, who, on the contrary had been offended with it; because the prejudice it did the Dutch, was one cause of the war between England and the United Provinces; and, as this war diverted the chief expences of the public towards the navy, of course it tended to the reduction of the land forces, of which Cromwell was general. The act of navigation, however, has continued since in force. The
purport

purport of it is, not to suffer any foreign vessel to import merchandizes into England, unless they be of the growth of the country to which that vessel belongs.

So early as the reign of queen Elizabeth there had been an East-India company, even prior to that of the Dutch; and a new one was afterwards erected in the reign of king William. From the year 1597 till 1612 the English were sole possessors of the whale fishery: but the chief source of their wealth was their wool. Formerly they only traded in the sale of it unwrought; but ever since the reign of queen Elizabeth they have manufactured the finest cloth in Europe. Agriculture, after it had been long neglected, hath proved as advantageous to this nation, as the mines of Peru to the Spaniards. It hath been chiefly promoted since 1689, when they began to give the bounty, or an encouragement for the exportation of grain. The government since that time hath granted five shillings for every measure of wheat sent abroad, when this measure, which contains four and twenty Paris bushels, is worth no more than eight and forty shillings in London. The sale of all other grain has been encouraged in proportion; and it has been lately proved in parliament, that the exportation of grain in four years, was worth a hundred and seventy millions three hundred and thirty thousand livres.

England had not all these advantages in the reign of Charles II: she was tributary to the industry of the French, who every year drew above eight millions of livres from her upon the balance of trade. She had as yet no manufactures

tures of linen, of glass, copper, brass, steel, paper, nor even of hats. For all these articles of industry she is indebted to the revocation of the edict of Nants.

From this single circumstance one may easily judge, whether the flatterers of Lewis XIV had reason to commend him, for depriving France of such a number of useful subjects. In 1687, the English, being sensible of the advantage that would accrue to their nation from such a number of French artisans, who had taken shelter among them, gave them fifteen hundred thousand livres in charity; and in London only, thirteen thousand of those fugitives were maintained at the public expence for a whole year.

This application to trade, in a warlike nation, has at length enabled her to subsidize one part of Europe against France. She has multiplied her credit in our days, without multiplying her funds, so that the debt of the nation to individuals amounts to near seventy millions of livres per annum. This is the very situation of the kingdom of France, where the government, under the king's name, is indebted about the same sum to annuitants, and to those who have purchased employments. This operation, unknown to so many other nations, and especially to those of Asia, hath been the melancholy fruit of our wars, and the last effort of political industry.

C H A P. CLII.

Of Italy, and principally of Rome, at the end of the sixteenth century. Of the council of Trent; the reformation of the calendar, &c.

THE situation of Italy at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, was the very reverse of that of France and Germany. The latter were in a declining state, destitute of commerce, industry, and civil polity, in a word, abandoned to anarchy; whereas the former began to enjoy repose, and to cultivate the polite arts, which in other countries were either unknown, or but rude and imperfect. Naples and Sicily had undergone no revolutions; nor were they even disturbed by insurrections. When pope Paul IV, at the instigation of his nephews, wanted to wrest those kingdoms from Philip II, with the aid of Henry II, king of France; he pretended to transfer them to the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III, in consideration of an annual tribute of twenty thousand ducats instead of six thousand; and especially on condition that his nephews should have large and independent principalities in those countries.

Naples was at that time the only tributary kingdom in the universe. It was said that the court of Rome wanted to put an end to that dependency, and to annex this realm to the holy see; which would have been giving such a power to the pope, as must enable him to hold the balance of Italy; but it was impossible either

ther for Paul IV, or for all Italy together, to wrest Naples from Philip II, in order to give it to the king of France, and successively to strip the two most powerful princes in Christendom. The enterprize of Paul IV was rash and unfortunate; the famous duke of Alva, at that time viceroy of Naples, insulted this silly pontiff, by melting down the bells, and all the brass in Benevento, a city belonging to the holy see, in order to convert them into cannon. The war ended almost as soon as it began. The duke of Alva flattered himself with the hopes of taking Rome, after the example of Charles V; but in a few days he kissed the pope's toe, and, upon restoring the bells to Benevento, the dispute was ended.

1560. After the death of Paul IV, the condemnation of his two nephews, the prince of Pagliano and cardinal Caraffa, afforded a frightful spectacle. The sacred college were shocked at the execution of this cardinal, who was strangled by order of Pius IV, as cardinal Poli had been treated under Leo X. But a single act does not constitute a cruel reign; besides, the Romans were not oppressed.

1563. The council of Trent ended very quietly under Pius IV: it was productive of no change, either among the catholics who believed all the articles of faith established by this council, or among the protestants who did not believe them: nor did it make any alteration in the customs of some catholic countries, which adopted rules of discipline different from those of the council. France, in particular, preserved what she calls the liberties of the Gallican church, which are indeed those of the kingdom. Four and twenty articles,
contrary

contrary to the rights of the civil magistrate, were never adopted in that country. : the chief of these invested bishops alone with the administration of hospitals, gave the power of trying bishops in criminal cases to the pope only, and subjected the laity on many occasions to episcopal jurisdiction. For this reason France always rejected this council in regard to discipline. The kings of Spain received it throughout their dominions with the highest respect, and yet with the greatest limitations. Venice imitated Spain. The catholics of Germany still demanded the use of the cup, and the marriage of the clergy. Pius IV granted the communion under both kinds, by particular briefs, to the emperor Maximilian and to the archbishop of Mentz ; but upon the article of celibacy, he was inflexible. The history of the popes gives as a reason for this, that, as Pius IV had got rid of the council, he had nothing farther to fear : and thence it is, adds the same author, that this pope, who was violating both human and divine laws, acted the scrupulous part in regard to celibacy. It is extremely false, that Pius IV was violating both human and divine laws ; and it is evident that, by preserving the ancient discipline of sacerdotal celibacy, of such long standing in the western church, he conformed to an opinion that was become part of the canon law.

All the customs in the discipline of the church of Germany were suffered to continue. The questions obnoxious to the secular power produced no more bloodshed, as formerly : there were still a few difficulties, a few bones of contention betwixt the court of Rome and the catholic princes, but no mischief followed from

any of those little disputes. The *interdict* of Venice, under Paul V, has been the only quarrel of any consequence: the religious wars in Germany and France made the court of Rome very uneasy; and the pope generally kept fair with the catholic princes, lest they should turn protestants. But weak popes were indifferently treated, when they had a potent prince to deal with, like Philip II, who was master of the conclave.

Italy wanted nothing but a general police; this was its great misfortune: it was for a long time infested with banditti, in the midst of the polite arts, and in the center of peace, as had been the case of Greece in barbarous ages. From the frontiers of the Milanese to the further extremity of the kingdom of Naples, gangs of banditti were continually roving from one province to another, and either purchased protections, or extorted tolerations from little princes. They were not exterminated in the ecclesiastic state till the pontificate of Sixtus Quintus; and even after his time they appeared sometimes. This was an encouragement to assassination: the use of the filetto was but too common in the towns, while the banditti infested the country; the scholars of Padua were accustomed to knock people down in the night, as they walked through the piazzas.

Notwithstanding these disorders, Italy was the most flourishing, though not the most powerful, country in Europe: there was an end of those foreign wars by which it had been ravaged after the reign of Charles VIII, king of France; no more talk of those intestine broils betwixt different principalities and cities; in short, no more to be heard of those plots, and conspira-
cies

cies that had been heretofore so frequent. Naples, Venice, Rome, and Florence, invited foreigners, by their magnificence, and by the culture of the polite arts. The pleasures of the mind were scarce known but in this climate; while religion was exhibited under a most pompous appearance, necessary for a people of such exquisite sensibility. It was Italy alone, that raised temples worthy of antiquity; and St. Peter's at Rome surpassed them all. If superstitious practices, false traditions, and forged miracles, still subsisted; they were despised by the wise, who knew full well, that there have been frauds in all ages to amuse the vulgar.

Perhaps the ultramontane writers, who de-claim with such severity against these abuses, have not sufficiently distinguished betwixt the people and their guides. The Roman senate were not to be despised, because the temples of Æsculapius were filled with the offerings of infirm people, whom nature had recovered; because the altars of Neptune were adorned or disfigured by a thousand votive pictures of voyagers, who had escaped with life upon being cast away; or because incense used to burn and smoke of itself on a sacred stone in Egnatia*. Several protestants, after enjoying the pleasures of Naples, have wrote most bitter invectives against the three miracles, which are performed in that city on a particular day, when the blood of St. Januarius, St. John Baptist, and St. Stephen, preserved in vials, begins to liquefy at the approach of the heads of those saints. They accuse the teachers of those churches of attributing idle

* Horace calls it *Egnatia*, the Italians *Naxxi*. See Hor. sat. 5. lib. 1.

miracles to the Deity. The learned and ingenious Mr. Addison says, *it is one of the most bungling tricks that ever he saw.* Those authors might, upon reflexion, have observed, that these institutions are not prejudicial to morals, which should be the principal aim of civil and ecclesiastical polity; that in all probability, the lively imaginations of people in warm climates, have need of visible signs to represent the Deity continually to their senses; in a word that these signs cannot be abolished, till they become contemptible to those by whom they are now revered.

To Pius IV succeeded the Dominican Gisleri, Pius V: this man was detested even in Rome, for the severity with which he acted as inquisitor, an office publicly opposed in other places by the secular courts. The famous bull, *in cœna Domini*, devised by Paul III, and published by Pius V, and in which all the rights of sovereigns are attacked, gave offence to several princes, and occasioned the outcry of many universities.

The suppression of the order of the *Humiliati*, was one of the chief events of his pontificate. The religious of that denomination were settled chiefly in the Milanese, and led very scandalous lives. St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, wanting to reform the order, four of the members conspired against his life; and one of them fired a pistol at him, while he was saying his prayers. The holy man, being only slightly wounded, petitioned the pope to pardon the criminals; but he punished them with death, and suppressed the order.

What renders the memory of Pius V so sacred, was his zeal to defend Christianity against

gainst the Turks. His highest encomium comes from Constantinople itself, where they made public rejoicings at his death.

Gregory XIII, of the family of Buoncompagno, and successor of Pius V, gained immortal honour by the reformation of the calendar, which goes by his name; wherein he imitated Julius Cæsar. The necessity which all nations have been under, of reforming the year, shews the slow progress even of the most useful arts. Mankind knew how to ravage the earth from one extremity to the other, before they had a knowledge of time, or could regulate their days. The ancient Romans at first had no more than ten lunar months, so that their year was of three hundred and four days; but afterwards they brought it to three hundred and fifty-five. Every remedy they applied to this false computation, proved a new error. The pontiffs had been the astronomers of the nation ever since Numa Pompilius, as they had been also among the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and almost all the people of Asia. The knowledge of time rendered them venerable in the eye of the public; for nothing conciliates authority so much as useful science, which surpasseth the capacity of the vulgar.

As the supreme pontificate among the Romans was always held by a senator; Julius Cæsar, in his pontifical quality, reformed the calendar: for which purpose he employed Sosigenes, a Greek mathematician of Alexandria. The Macedonian conqueror had made this city the seat of learning and commerce: it was the most celebrated school for the mathematics; where

the Egyptians, and even the Jews, improved in real knowledge. Before that time the Egyptians knew how to raise huge massive stones; but the Greeks taught them all the polite arts, or rather practised them in that country without being imitated by the natives. And indeed we do not find, among this effeminate servile nation, any one person famed for the Grecian arts.

The Christian pontiffs regulated the year, in the same manner as the pontiffs of ancient Rome, because it was their office to proclaim the great solemnities. The first general council in 325, perceiving the irregularity which time had produced in the Julian calendar, consulted, as Cæsar had done, the Greeks of Alexandria, who made answer, that the vernal equinox fell that year on the 21st of March; and the fathers settled the time for the celebration of Easter according to this principle.

Two small mistakes in the Julian calculation, and in that of the astronomers consulted by this council, made a considerable increase in a succession of ages. The first of these is owing to the famous golden number of Meton the Athenian: this allows nineteen years to the revolution, by which the moon comes back to the same point of the heavens; and it wants but an hour and a half: a mistake almost insensible in a single century, but considerable in many. It was the same in regard to the apparent revolution of the sun, and of the points which fix the equinoxes and the solstices. The vernal equinox, at the time of the council of Nice, was upon the 21st of March; but at the time of the council

council of Trent, the equinox had proceeded or anticipated ten days, and fell upon the eleventh of that month. The cause of this precession of the equinoxes was unknown to all antiquity, and has not been long discovered; it is owing to a particular motion of the earth, which concludes its period in twenty-five thousand nine hundred years, and makes the equinoxes and solstices pass successively through all the points of the zodiac. This motion is the effect of gravitation, whose phenomena seemed to be above the reach of human capacity, till discovered and explained by Sir Isaac Newton.

However, under Gregory III, the business was not concerning this precession of the equinoxes, but to remove the sensible confusion which began to disturb the civil year. Gregory consulted the most famous astronomers in Europe. A Roman physician, whose name was Lilio, had the honour of furnishing the simplest and easiest manner of restoring the order of the year, as we have it in the new calendar: they had only to strike ten days out of the year 1582, which was the æra of the Gregorian reformation, and to use an easy precaution for preventing the like confusion in future ages. No body knows any thing of this Lilio; for the calendar bears the name of pope Gregory, just as Sosigenes's name was absorbed in that of Cæsar. The ancient Greeks did not behave so; the artists were left in possession of the glory of invention.

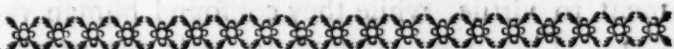
Gregory III had the honour of concluding this necessary reformation; but he had more trouble in prevailing on other nations to receive it, than in getting it digested by the mathematicians.

Nov. cians. France opposed it for some months ; till
 3, at length, in consequence of an edict of Hen-
 1582. ry III, registered in the parliament of Paris,
 they accustomed themselves to the right compu-
 tation : but the emperor Maximilian II could
 not persuade the diet of Augsbuurg, that the e-
 quinox was advanced ten days. They were a-
 fraid lest the court of Rome, by instructing
 mankind, should assume a right to command.
 Hence the old calendar continued some time
 even among the catholics of Germany ; but the
 protestants obstinately refused to receive a truth
 delivered by the pope, which they ought to have
 embraced, even if proposed by the Turk.

The latter end of the pontificate of Gregory
 XIII, was famous for the embassy from Japan.
 Rome was making spiritual conquests at the re-
 motest corner of the earth, while she sustained
 so many losses in Europe. Three kings or
 princes of Japan, a country then divided into
 petty sovereignties, sent each of them one of
 their nearest relations to greet the king of
 Spain, as the most potent of all the Christian
 princes ; and the pope as father of all kings.
 The letters of those princes to the pope begin
 with paying adoration to his holiness. The first,
 from the king of Bungo, was directed thus : *To*
the adorable, who on earth supplies the place of the
king of heaven : it concluded thus ; With fear and
respect I address your holiness, whom I adore, and
whose most sacred feet I kiss. The other two are
 couched almost in the same terms. Spain at
 that time flattered herself that Japan would be-
 come one of her provinces ; while the Roman
 pontiff

pontiff saw one third of this empire already subject to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Romans would have been very happy under the administration of Gregory XIII, had not the public tranquillity been interrupted by the banditti. He abolished a few onerous taxes, and did not dismember the state in favour of his bastard, like some of his predecessors.



C H A P. CLIII.

Of Sixtus Quintus.

THE reign of Sixtus Quintus is more talked of than that of Gregory XIII, or of Pius V; though both these popes did greater things than Sixtus; one having distinguished himself by the battle of Lepanto, of which he was the first mover; and the other by the reformation of the calendar. Sometimes the character of a person, and the extraordinary circumstances of his elevation, shall attract the attention of posterity, more than the memorable actions of others. The disproportion between the birth of Sixtus Quintus, a poor husbandman's son, and his elevation to the supreme dignity, adds to his reputation: yet we have seen that mean parentage was never an obstacle to the pontificate; for at the court of Rome, all preferments are esteemed the reward of merit, though they are also attained by intrigue. Pius V was hardly of a better family than Sixtus; Adrian VI was a tradesman's son; Nicholas V

was born of obscure parents ; the father of the famous John XXII, who added a third circle to the tiara, and who wore three crowns without possessing a foot of land, mended shoes at Cahors ; which was the trade of Urban's father *. Adrian IV, one of the greatest popes, was a beggar's son, and had followed the same practice himself. The history of the church abounds with these examples, which are an encouragement to virtue, while they confound human vanity. They who attempt to raise the extraction of Sixtus Quintus, do not reflect, that in this they lessen his personal character ; for they strip him of the merit of surmounting the first difficulties. There is a greater distance from the hog-driver, which he had been in his infancy, to the simple offices he obtained in his order, than from these to the pontifical throne. His life has been compiled at Rome from journals, which inform us of nothing but dates ; and from panegyrics, where we learn nothing at all. The cordelier who wrote the life of Sixtus Quintus, begins with saying, *that he has the honour of treating of the highest, the best, the greatest of pontiffs, princes, and sages ; in a word, of the glorious and immortal Sixtus.* With such an exordium he destroys his own credit.

The genius of Sixtus Quintus is an essential part of his history. What distinguishes him from the other popes, is his acting in quite a different manner from them. To behave with haughtiness, and arrogance, when a simple friar ; suddenly to smother the fire of his temper, when he is made cardinal ; to appear fifteen years incapable of business, and especially of governing,

* This was Urban IV.

in order to gain the suffrages of those, who expected to govern in his name; to resume his state and pride the moment he ascends the throne; to be surprizingly severe in his pontificate, and great in all his undertakings; to embellish Rome, and to leave great sums in the pontifical exchequer; to disband the troops, and even the guards used by his predecessors, while he disperses the banditti by dint of laws without military force; to make every body respect his dignity, and character; this is what placed his name among the illustrious personages of the age, even when Henry IV and Elizabeth were yet living. Other sovereigns were in danger of being dethroned, when they ventured upon any arduous enterprize without the assistance of large standing armies, such as have been maintained since that time: it was not so with the pontiffs of Rome, who, uniting the priesthood and the empire, had no need of guards.

Sixtus Quintus acquired a very high reputation, by improving the buildings and the police of Rome, as Henry IV improved those of Paris: but this was the least part of the merit of Henry IV, and the greatest of that of Sixtus V. In this respect the pope very much surpassed the king of France: but he reigned over a more peaceable, and at that time more industrious, people; and he had the ruins and models of antient Rome, as likewise the works of his predecessors, to encourage his grand designs.

Under the Roman emperors, intire rivers were conveyed to Rome, the space of several miles, by fourteen huge aqueducts supported on arches; this was a constant supply to a hundred and fifty
16 fountains,

fountains, and to a hundred and eighteen large public baths; not to mention the water requisite for those artificial seas, on which were exhibited naval engagements. A hundred thousand statues adorned the public squares, the streets, the temples, the houses. Ninety colossus's were erected on portico's. Forty obelisks of granite from the upper Egypt, surprized the spectators, who scarce conceived in what manner those stupendous stones could be transported from the tropic to the banks of the Tiber. All that the popes had to do, was to repair a few aqueducts, to raise a few obelisks from under the ruins, and to dig up some statues.

Sixtus Quintus restored the *Aqua-Martia* *, whose spring rises twenty miles from Rome, near the antient Præneste: he had it conveyed by an aqueduct of thirteen thousand paces in length; and they were obliged to raise arches along the road for the distance of seven miles. Such a work would have been a trifling affair to the Roman empire; but it was a mighty matter to Rome impoverished and reduced.

Five obelisks were raised by his care. The name of the architect Fontana, who restored them, is still famous in Rome; while that of the artists who carved, and transported them to such a distance, is forgot. We read in a hundred travellers, and in a hundred authors by whom those travellers are transcribed, that in erecting the obelisk of the Vatican, the cords happened to be too short, and notwithstanding the prohibition, upon pain of death, that no-

* This is a mistake, it was the *Aqua Felix* that was restored by Sixtus Quintus.

body should speak during the operation, a common fellow cried out from among the crowd, *Wet the cords*. Such tales as these render history ridiculous, being the fruit of ignorance; the capstans they made use of, could not want this foolish assistance.

What gave modern Rome some superiority over the antient, was the cupola of St. Peter's. There were only three antique monuments of this kind extant in the world; part of the dome of the temple of Minerva at Athens, the dome of the Pantheon at Rome, and that of the great Mosque of Constantinople, heretofore St. Sophia, built by Justinian. But these cupolas, though sufficiently raised withinside, were too flat without. Bruneleschi, the restorer of architecture in Italy in the fifteenth century, remedied this defect in the cathedral of Florence, by building two cupolas, one within the other; but they had something of the Gothic taste, and were not in just proportion. Michael Angelo Buonarota, an artist equally celebrated for painting, sculpture, and architecture, gave the designs of the two domes of St. Peter under the pontificate of Julius II; and Sixtus Quintus erected this work, which surpasseth every thing of the kind, in the space of a year and ten months.

The library, begun by Nicholas V, was so greatly increased about this time, that Sixtus Quintus may be reckoned its real founder. The immense repository in which the books are lodged, is a noble structure. At that time there was no library in Europe so large, nor so curious: but Paris has since outdone Rome; and though the architecture of the king's library may not be comparable to that of the Vatican, yet

yet there is a greater number of books, disposed in better order, and lent with more ease to private people.

It was a misfortune to Sixtus Quintus, and to his dominions, that all his great foundations impoverished the people, whereas Henry IV relieved their wants. Both, at their death, left very near the same sum in ready money; for though Henry had a reserve of forty millions of livres at his command, yet there were not above twenty millions in the vaults of the Bastille; and the five millions of crowns which Sixtus laid up in the castle of St. Angelo, were very near equivalent to twenty millions of livres, according to the currency of that time. This money could not be taken out of the circulation, in such a country as Rome, that had scarce either trade or manufactures, without impoverishing the inhabitants. In order to hoard this treasure, and to supply these expences, Sixtus was obliged to give a greater scope to the sale of public offices, than had been granted by his predecessors. Sixtus IV, Julius II, Leo X, had led the way; but Sixtus V greatly increased the burden: he created annuities at eight, nine, and ten per cent, for the payment of which there was an additional load of taxes. The people forgot he was embellishing Rome, and only felt that he was impoverishing them; so that this pontiff was more hated than admired.

We should always consider the people in a double capacity, as the sovereign of a temporal state, and as head of the church. Sixtus, as supreme pontiff, wanted to renew the times of Gregory VII. He declared Henry IV, then only

ly king of Navarre, incapable of succeeding to the crown of France. He issued out a bull, depriving queen Elizabeth of her dominions; and if the invincible armada had succeeded on the coast of England, the bull might have been put in execution. The manner in which he behaved towards Henry III, after the assassination of the duke of Guise, and of the cardinal his brother, was not so violent. He contented himself with declaring the king excommunicated, unless he did penance for both those murders. This was imitating St. Ambrose; and acting like Adrian IV *, who insisted upon a public penance for the murder of Becket, afterwards canonized by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It was very certain that Henry III had caused two princes to be assassinated in his own house, who indeed were dangerous persons, but had not been legally tried and convicted: and it would have been a difficult matter to convict them, for though they were the chiefs of a pernicious league, yet the king himself had signed it. Every circumstance of this double assassination was horrible; and, without entering into the justifications founded on policy and the misfortunes of the times, the common security of mankind seemed to demand a barrier against the like outrages. Sixtus lost the fruit of his austere and inflexible behaviour, by maintaining only the rights of the tiara and of the sacred college, not those of humanity; by not condemning the murder of the duke of Guise as much as that of the cardinal; by insisting only on the pretended immunity of

* This is a mistake: Becket was assassinated in 1171, and Adrian IV died in 1159. The pope he means was Alexander III.

the church, and the rights claimed by popes of judging cardinals; by commanding the king of France to set the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons at liberty, though he had the strongest reasons of state for keeping them confined; in short, by enjoining him to repair to Rome within the space of sixty days, in order to expiate his crime. It is very true that Sixtus Quintus, the head of the Christian church, might say to a prince of that religion; *Humble yourself in the sight of God for the murders you have committed*: but he had no right to say to him; *I only am the judge of your clergy, I alone am intitled to pronounce sentence on you in my court.*

This pope seemed to behave less consistently with the dignity and impartial administration of his office, after the parricide committed by James Clement, when he pronounced the following words before the cardinals, faithfully related by the secretary of the consistory: *This murder, said he, which causes so much surprize and admiration, will hardly be believed by posterity. A most puissant king, surrounded by a strong army, which reduced the Parisians to implore his mercy, is killed with a knife by a poor friar. Surely this great example was given, to the end that all the world may be convinced of the efficacy of God's judgments.* This speech of Sixtus's appeared most shocking, because he seemed to look upon the flagitious act of a villain as the work of divine inspiration.

Sixtus had a right to refuse the empty honours of a funeral service to Henry III, whom he looked upon as excluded from the participation of the prayers of the faithful. For which reason he said, in the same consistory, *I owe these obse-*
quies

quies to the king of France, but I do not owe them to Henry of Valois, who died impenitent.

Interest at length prevails over every other consideration: this same pope, who had so boldly pretended to deprive Elizabeth and the king of Navarre of their kingdoms; who had summoned king Henry III to appear at Rome in sixty days, upon pain of excommunication, refused nevertheless to side with the league and with Spain against Henry IV, at that time a heretic. He foresaw that if Philip II succeeded, so as to be master of France, of the Milanese, and of Naples, he would soon have the holy see and all Italy in his power. Sixtus acted therefore, on this occasion, as every prudent man would have acted in his place; he chose rather to run the risk of incurring the indignation of Philip II, than to ruin himself by lending a hand to destroy Henry IV. In this anxiety he died, not daring to succour Henry IV, and afraid of Philip II. The Romans, who groaned under the heavy load of taxes, and who hated so severe and oppressive a government, shewed their resentment upon the death of Sixtus: with great difficulty were they^{26,} hindered from disturbing his funeral rites, and^{1590.} from tearing to pieces the man to whom they had lately paid adoration. His treasures were all squandered away within a year after his decease, just like those of Henry IV, the usual fate of such hoards, and which plainly shews the vanity of human designs.

C H A P. CLIV.

Of the successors of Sixtus Quintus.

HISTORY affords innumerable instances of the great influence, which the prejudices of education and country have over mankind. Gregory XIV, a native of Milan, and subject of the king of Spain, was governed by the Spanish faction; which Sixtus V, born a subject of Rome, had the courage to withstand. Gregory sacrificed every thing to Philip II; he raised an army of Italians, to ravage France, with that very treasure which Sixtus Quintus had amassed for the defence of Italy; and when this army was beaten and dispersed, Gregory XIV was obliged to sit down with the shame of having empoverished himself for the sake of Philip II, and of being domineered by that prince.

Clement VIII, of the family of Aldobrandini, and a native of Florence, conducted himself with more art and address; he was sensible, that it was the interest of the holy see to hold the balance as much as possible betwixt France and the house of Austria. He added the dutchy of Ferrara to the ecclesiastic state. This revolution was owing to the intricacy of the feudal laws, and to the weakness of the empire. The countess Matilda, of whom we have so often made mention, had given Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, with a great many other lands, to the see of Rome. The emperors ever protested against the donation of those demesnes, as fiefs of the crown of Lombardy. However, in spite of the emperor,

emperor, they became fiefs of the holy see; like Naples, which was held of the pope, after having been a fief of the empire. It was not till lately that Modena and Reggio were solemnly declared Imperial fiefs. But after the pontificate of Gregory VII they were dependent on Rome, the same as Ferrara; and the house of Modena, heretofore proprietors of those lands, held them only as vicars of the holy see. In vain did the court of Vienna and the Imperial diets constantly pretend to the supreme jurisdiction over this country. Clement VII wrested Ferrara from the house of Este; and what at other times might have produced a bloody war, was followed only by protests. Ever since that time Ferrara has been almost a desert. 1597

This pope performed the ceremony of giving 1595. absolution to Henry IV, represented by the cardinals du Perron and d'Osat: but we see plainly how much the court of Rome was still afraid of Philip II, by the caution pope Clement VIII observed in reconciling Henry IV to the church. This prince had solemnly abjured the reformed religion; and yet two thirds of the cardinals in consistory still persisted in denying him absolution. The French ambassadors had much ado to prevent the pope from making use of this formula, *We reinstate Henry IV in his kingdom*. The court of Rome was indeed willing to recognize Henry IV as king of France, and to set this prince in opposition to the house of Austria; but at the same time the pope maintained his old pretension to dispose of kingdoms.

Under Paul V, of the house of Borghese, was renewed the antient dispute between the secular and

and ecclesiastic jurisdiction, a dispute which had heretofore been the cause of so much bloodshed. The senate of Venice had prohibited any new
 1605. donations to the church without their consent, and especially the alienation of lands in favour of religious houses. They thought likewise that they had a right to imprison and condemn a canon of Vicenza, and an abbot of Nervesa, convicted of robbery and murder.

The pope wrote to the republic that the imprisonment and condemnation of the two ecclesiastics was injurious to the *divine* honour; he insisted that the decrees of the senate should be referred to his nuncio, that the two delinquents should be delivered up to him, and tried only by the court of Rome.

Paul, who had made the republic of Genoa submit lately upon the like occasion, imagined that the Venetians would have the same condescendence. The senate sent an ambassador extraordinary to maintain their rights. The pope made answer to the ambassador, that neither the rights nor arguments of the republic were good for ought, and that he must be obeyed. The
 Ap K, 1606. senate would not obey. Upon which the doge and senate were excommunicated, and the whole state of Venice put under an *interdict*; that is, the clergy were forbid, upon pain of eternal damnation, to say mass, to perform divine service, to administer the sacraments, or to lend their assistance to the burial of the dead. Thus it was that Gregory VII, and his successors, had behaved heretofore to several emperors, knowing that the people would rather chuse to desert their sovereign than their churches; and depending on the readi-
 ness

ness of princes to seize the dominions of the person excommunicated. But the times were changed: by this violent proceeding the pope only exposed his authority, and the senate might be tempted to shut up all their churches, and renounce the catholic religion. The transition was not so very difficult from the catholic to the Greek, the Lutheran, or the Calvinistical communion; and indeed there was a talk at that time of their separating from the church of Rome. But the change could not have been effected without some trouble; and the king of Spain would have taken advantage of it. The senate therefore only prohibited the publication of the papal monitory throughout their dominions. The grand vicar of the bishop of Padua, to whom this prohibition was signified, made answer to the *Podestà**, that he would act as God would inspire him; but, upon the *Podestà*'s replying that God had inspired the council of Ten to cause every man to be hanged that disobeyed the senate, the interdict was suppressed; and the court of Rome was so fortunate, as to see the Venetians continue in the catholic communion in spite of his holiness.

There were only a few religious orders that obeyed the pope. The Jesuits did not chuse to be the first that set the example. Their deputies repaired to the general assembly of the Capuchins, and told them, that *in this grand affair the whole world had their eye on the Capuchins, and that they waited to see what step those fathers would take; which should regulate the conduct of the society.* Those friars did not hesitate at shutting up their

* *Podestà* is a name given to the magistrates of Genoa and Venice.
churches :

churches: upon which the Jesuits and the Theatins did the same by theirs. The senate shipped them all off for Rome; and banished the Jesuits for ever.

The king of Spain was inciting the pope against the Venetians; but Henry IVth declared himself their friend. The Venetians began to arm at Verona, Padua, Bergamo, and Brescia; and they raised four thousand men in France. The pope, on the other hand, ordered a levy of four thousand Corsicans, and of a few Swiss catholics. This little army was to be commanded by cardinal Borghese. The Turks gave solemn thanks to God for the quarrel betwixt the pope and the Venetians. Henry IVth had the glory, as I have elsewhere observed, of being arbiter of this difference; and of excluding Philip III from the mediation. Paul V had even the mortification to find that the accommodation could not be concluded at Rome. The cardinal de Joyeuse, the
 1607. king's envoy to the republic of Venice, repealed the excommunication and the interdict in the pope's name. The pope, abandoned by Spain, behaved thenceforward with moderation. The order of Jesuits remained in exile for above fifty years; they were not recalled till the year 1657 at the intreaty of pope Alexander VII: but they have not been able to recover their former credit.

From that time Paul V would not make any decision that might expose his authority. In vain was he solicited to determine the immaculate conception of the blessed virgin as an article of faith: he contented himself with forbidding any body to teach the contrary in public; that he might not offend the Dominicans, who pretend

pretend she was conceived, like the rest of mankind, in original sin. The Dominicans at that time had great weight in Spain and Italy.

He applied himself to the embellishment of Rome; and collected the choicest pieces of sculpture and painting. Rome is indebted to him for her noblest fountains, especially that which spouts out the water from an antique vase taken from Vespasian's baths; and that called *L'acqua Paola*, an antient work of Augustus, but restored by this pope: he conveyed the water hither by an aqueduct of thirty-five thousand paces in length, in imitation of Sixtus Quintus. The popes now began to vie who should leave the noblest monuments behind them. Paul finished the palace of Monte Cavallo. The palace Borghese erected by this pontiff is one of the principal structures in Rome. Each succeeding pope strove to render this the most magnificent city in the world. Urban VIII built that great altar of St. Peter's, the columns and ornaments of which would any where else appear of an enormous size; but here they have only a just proportion: this is the master-piece of cavalier Bernini, an artist worthy of placing his performances with those of his countryman Michael Angelo.

This Urban VIII was of the family of Barberini, and a lover of the polite arts; he cultivated the Latin muses himself with success. Thus the Romans in profound peace enjoyed those sweets which letters diffuse through society, and the glory that follows ingenious men. Urban reunited the dutchies of Urbino, Pesaro, 1644. and Sinigaglia, to the ecclesiastic state, upon the
extinction

extinction of the house of Rovere, which held those principalities as fiefs of the holy see. The Roman pontiffs had been thus increasing their temporal dominion ever since Alexander VI. The public tranquillity was no more disturbed; scarce was there any notice taken of the quarrel betwixt Urban VIII, or rather his two nephews, and the duke of Parma, for the money which that prince owed the apostolic chamber upon the dutchy of Castro. It was a quarrel of short duration, and attended with little bloodshed, such as one might expect from those modern Romans, whose manners are agreeable to the genius of their government. Cardinal Barberini, the author of this dispute, marched at the head of his little army, reinforced with indulgences. In the chief engagement there were only four or five hundred men of a side. The fortress of Pięgaia surrendered at discretion, as soon as she saw the artillery, which consisted only of two culverins. And yet, to terminate this dispute, which scarce deserves a place in history, they had recourse to more negotiations, than if the contest had been betwixt Carthage and antient Rome. I have taken notice of this insignificant event, merely to shew the genius of the modern inhabitants of Rome, who determine every thing by negotiation; whereas the old Romans decided their disputes by the sword.

The ceremonies of religion, and precedence, the polite arts, antiquities, buildings, gardens, music, and public assemblies, were the amusements of the Romans; while the war of thirty years was laying Germany waste, while the king and people were destroying one another in Eng-

land,

land, and while France was involved again in a civil war under the minority of Lewis XIV. But, though Rome enjoyed tranquillity, and was celebrated for its public monuments, the people in the main were miserable. The money, expended in the erecting of such a number of magnificent edifices, was carried to other nations in the balance of trade.

The popes were obliged to purchase corn abroad, for there grows but very little in the ecclesiastic state; and afterwards they retailed it in the capital. This custom still continues: there are countries enriched, and others that are impoverished, by luxury. The splendor of a few cardinals, and relations of popes, served only as a contrast to the indigence of the people, who, at the sight of so many fine buildings, seemed, even in the midst of their poverty, to be proud of being Roman citizens.

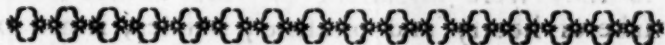
Travellers, who went to admire this great city, used to be surprized that from Orvieto to Terracina, for the space of above a hundred miles, there was nothing to be seen but a dreary waste, unfrequented by man or beast. The *campagna di Roma* is an uninhabitable country, the air being infected by the marshes and stagnated waters, which the antient Romans used to drain. Besides, Rome stands in an ungrateful soil, on the banks of a river that is not navigable. Its situation on seven hills, seemed as if it was rather designed for a den of wild beasts, than for a city. Its first wars were the excursions of a people who lived upon plunder: and when Camillus the dictator had taken Veii, a town in Umbria, within a few miles of Rome; the Ro-

mans wanted to quit their barren territory, with their seven hills, and to remove to the country of the Veientes. The neighbourhood of Rome was rendered fruitful afterwards, by the money of conquered nations, and by the labour of a vast multitude of slaves. But this spot was rather covered with palaces than with corn. At length it has reverted to its original state of a desert.

Yet the holy see was possessed of some fruitful lands, for instance, the territory of Bologna. Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, attributes the misery of the people in the most fertile part of this country, to their taxes and the form of government. He pretends, with the current of writers, that as the reign of an elective prince lasts but a few years, he has neither the power nor the will to make such establishments, as prove advantageous to a country. It is far easier to raise obelisks, or to build palaces and temples, than to render a nation industrious and opulent. Though Rome was the capital of the catholic world, it was less populous than Venice or Naples, and far inferior to Paris or London: it was nothing to compare to Amsterdam for riches, nor for the necessary arts, the real source of wealth. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, they reckoned only about a hundred and twenty thousand souls in Rome, by the printed list of families; and this calculation was confirmed by the registers of baptism. There were born, one year with another, three thousand six hundred children; this number of births, multiplied by thirty-four, gives nearly the sum of inhabitants; which is about a hundred and
twenty-

twenty-two thousand four hundred. In this list they did not reckon near eight thousand Jews. These people have always lived peaceably in Rome as well as at Leghorn. The Italians never exercised such cruelties against them, as those they were obliged to undergo in Spain and Portugal. There was no other country in Europe, where religion inspired the inhabitants with such lenity.

Rome was the center of the liberal arts and of politeness, till the age of Lewis the XIVth; which determined queen Christina to fix her residence in that city. But Italy was soon rivalled in many branches, and surpassed in some by France. England was also as much her superior in science, as in commerce. Rome, however, preserved the glory of its antiquities, and the works of ingenious artists, by which it has been distinguished ever since the time of Julius II.



C H A P. CLV.

Of Italy in the seventeenth century.

Of Venice; and Malta.

TUSCANY was like the ecclesiastic state, ever since the sixteenth century, a peaceful happy country. Florence, the rival of Rome, invited a multitude of strangers, to come and admire the antient and modern master-pieces with which it was crowded. It had no less than a hundred and sixty public statues. The only two

which decorated Paris, that of Henry IV, and the horse which bears the statue of Lewis XIII, had been cast at Florence, and were a present from the great dukes.

Commerce had raised Tuscany to so flourishing a condition, and so greatly enriched its sovereigns, that the grand duke Cosmo was able to send twenty thousand men to the assistance of the duke of Mantua, against the duke of Savoy in 1613, without laying any new duty upon his subjects: which is very extraordinary even among potent nations.

The city of Venice enjoyed a still greater advantage, namely, that ever since the fourteenth century its internal tranquillity was never disturbed one single moment; there had been no tumult, no sedition, no dangerous commotion. As travellers flocked to Rome and Florence to admire the superb monuments of the polite arts, so they were impatient to visit Venice for the sake of liberty and pleasure; besides, it had excellent paintings as well as Rome. The liberal arts were cultivated by the republic; and strangers were attracted by magnificent spectacles. Rome was the seat of ceremony, and Venice of diversion. The republic had concluded a peace with the Turks after the battle of Lepanto; and though her trade to the Levant had been upon the decline, it was still considerable; she was possessed of Candia, and several islands, of Istria, Dalmatia, part of Albania, and of whatever she still preserves in Italy.

1618. In the midst of her prosperities she was upon the brink of being destroyed by a conspiracy, of which there had been no similar instance since the founda-

foundation of the commonwealth. The abbè de St. Real, who wrote this memorable event in the Sallustian stile, has embellished it with fiction; but the substance of the story is true. Venice had been engaged in a petty war with the house of Austria on the coast of Istria. The king of Spain, Philip III, lord of the Milanese, was a secret enemy of the Venetians. The duke d'Osuna, viceroy of Naples, don Pedro of Toledo, governor of Milan, and the marquis de Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, afterwards cardinal de la Cueva, all three joined to destroy the republic. Their measures were so well concerted, and the project was of so extraordinary a nature, that the senate, notwithstanding all their sagacity and vigilance, did not entertain the least suspicion of it. Venice is guarded by its situation in the lagunes: the mud of those lagunes, being impelled to and fro by the waters of rivers that discharge into them, the channel for shipping is never constant, but changes almost every day. The republic had a formidable fleet on the coast of Istria, where she was at war with Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, afterwards Ferdinand II. It seemed impossible for an enemy to get into Venice. Yet the marquis of Bedmar assembled about five hundred strangers; whom the ringleaders engaged under different pretexts, and made sure of with the ambassador's money. The town is to be set on fire in several parts at once: a body of troops is to march from the Milanese over the terra firma: sailors are bribed to pilot a number of boats filled with soldiers, which the duke d'Osuna had got ready within a few leagues of

Venice: one of the conspirators, a sea-officer in the service of the republic, and who had the command of twelve of her ships, undertakes to set them on fire, which would prevent the rest of the fleet from coming time enough to the relief of the city. The conspirators were all foreigners, of different nations; so that it is not at all surprising the plot was discovered. The procurator Nani, a celebrated historian of this republic, says, that the senate were informed of the whole conspiracy by several: but he makes no mention of the pretended remorse felt by Jaffier, one of the conspirators, when Renaudot their leader, haranguing them the last time, is said to have drawn so lively a picture of the horrid enterprize, that Jaffier, instead of being incited, began to relent. These harangues flow from the imagination of the writers; we ought ever to mistrust them in reading history. It is neither in the nature of things, nor at all probable, that a ringleader should make a pathetic description to the conspirators, of the cruelties they are about to commit, or frighten the imagination, of those whom he ought rather to incite. All the conspirators whom the senate could find, were drowned immediately in the canals of Venice. As to Bedmar, the republic shewed a respect to his public character, which she needed not to have done; he was conducted privately out of the city, to avoid the fury of the populace.

After Venice had escaped this danger, she continued in a flourishing state till the taking of Candia. This republic maintained the war singly against the Turkish emperor the space of thirty years,

years, from 1641 to 1669. The siege of Candia, the longest and most memorable in history, lasted near twenty years; sometimes turned into a blockade, at other times carried on but faintly, then left off, resumed again at different intervals, and at length continued two years and a half without interruption, till this heap of ashes surrendered to the Turks, together with almost the whole island, in 1669.

How slowly is human nature civilized! and with what difficulty is society improved! In the neighbourhood of Venice, and at the very gates of that country, where all the arts so greatly flourished, there were people, every whit as unpolished, as the northern nations in those days. The inhabitants of Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, were almost barbarians: and yet this was the Dalmatia, so fruitful and agreeable at the time of the Roman empire: this was the delicious spot that Dioclesian chose for his retreat, when neither the city, nor the name of Venice, existed. Such is the vicissitude of human affairs! The Morlacks especially were reckoned the most savage people upon the face of the earth. Thus it is that neither Sardinia, nor Corsica partook of the moral and intellectual improvements, which at that time adorned the rest of the Italians. It was with Italy as with antient Greece, the borders of which were inhabited by savage nations.

Of Malta.

THE knights of Malta maintained themselves in this island, which was given them by Charles V, after Soliman had driven them out of Rhodes in 1523. At first the grand master Villiers L'isle Adam, with his knights and the Rhodians that adhered to the order, were in an itinerant state, rambling from town to town, to Messina, to Gallipoli, to Rome, to Viterbo. This same grand master went as far as Madrid, to implore the assistance of Charles V; thence he proceeded to France, and to England, endeavouring to save his order from ruin. Charles V made the knights a present of Malta and Tripoli, in 1525; but Soliman's admirals soon dispossessed them of Tripoli. Malta was almost a barren rock: by great labour the soil had been rendered fruitful in former ages, when this island was in the hands of the Carthaginians; for the new proprietors found the ruins of antique columns, and of huge marble structures, with inscriptions in the Punic language. These remains of grandeur were a proof that the country had been heretofore in a flourishing state. The Romans thought it worth their while to wrest it from the Carthaginians; the Arabs made themselves masters of it in the ninth century: and Roger the Norman, count of Sicily, annexed it to the latter island, towards the end of the twelfth century. When Villiers L'isle Adam removed the seat of his order to Malta, the same Soliman enraged at the numerous capture of Turkish vessels by an enemy, whom he thought he had destroyed, determined to dispossess

sefs them of this island, as he had dispossessed them of Rhodes. He sent an army of thirty thousand men before this small place, which was defended only by seven hundred knights, and about eight thousand foreign troops. The grand master John de la Valette, at that time seventy one years of age, held out a siege of four months.

The Turks attempted to storm it several times in different places : they were repulsed with machines of a new invention; these were great round pieces of wood, covered with wool, and the wool dawbed over with brandy, oil, salt-petre, and gunpowder ; a number of these were set on fire, and thrown among the assailants. At length a reinforcement of six thousand men having landed from Sicily, the Turks raised the siege. The principal town of Malta, which had sustained the greatest number of assaults, was called the *victorious*, a title it still preserves. The grand master de la Valette built a new city, which bears his name, and has rendered Malta impregnable. This little island has ever since set the whole Ottoman power at defiance; but the order is not rich enough to attempt any great conquests, or to fit out numerous fleets. This community of warriors subsists intirely by the benefices they possess in catholic countries; but they have done less harm by far to the Turks, than the Algerine Corsairs have done to the Christians.

C H A P. CLVI.

Of Holland in the seventeenth century.

HOLLAND merits our attention so much the more, as it is a government of quite a different kind; a government grown powerful without possessing hardly a foot of land; rich, without being able of itself to maintain the twentieth part of its inhabitants; and considerable in Europe by its exploits at the remotest extremity of Asia. We have seen this republic
 1609. acknowledged a free and independent state by the king of Spain her former master, after having obtained her liberty by a war of forty years. Industry and sobriety were the first guardians of this liberty. It is related, that as the marquis of Spinola, and the president Richardot, were upon their way to the Hague in 1608, in order to negotiate the first truce with the Dutch, they saw eight or nine persons stepping out of a little boat, and seating themselves upon the grass, where they made a frugal repast upon bread and cheese, and beer; each carrying his own provisions. The Spanish ambassadors asked a peasant, who those travellers were? the peasant answered; *they are the deputies of the states our sovereign lords and masters.* Upon which the ambassadors cried out; *these people we shall never be able to conquer; we must e'en make peace with them.* This is like what happened formerly to the ambassadors of Sparta, and those of the king of Persia. The same cause might have produced the same effect. In general the private people in those provinces
 were

were poor at that time, and the state was rich; whereas individuals are now grown rich, while the state is indigent. The reason of this is, the first fruits of commerce had been consecrated to the public security.

The Dutch were neither possessed at that time of the Cape of Good hope, where they made no settlements till the year 1651; nor of Cochin and its dependencies; nor of Molucca. They did not trade as yet directly to China. They were excluded from the commerce of Japan, till the year 1609, by the Portuguese, or rather by the Spaniards, who were still masters of Portugal. But they had already subdued the Moluccas, and begun to make settlements in Java. From the year 1602 to 1609 the East India company had doubled their capital. Ambassadors from Siam in 1608 had already paid the same honours to this trading nation, as they afterwards did to Lewis XIV. Japanese ambassadors came likewise in 1609 to conclude a treaty at the Hague. The emperor of Fez and Morocco applied to them for succours of men and ships. Their fortune and their glory had been increasing above forty years by commerce and war.

* [The lenity of this government, and the toleration extended to all sorts of religions, dangerous perhaps in other countries, but necessary in this, peopled Holland with a multitude of foreigners, especially Walloons, whom the inquisition persecuted in their own country, and who exchanged their servitude for freedom.

* This whole passage, to these words, *one view*, is taken from the introduction to the age of Lewis XIV, and restored here to its proper place.

The calvinistical persuasion, then predominant in Holland, contributed also to aggrandize the republic. This country was too poor at that time to support the magnificence of prelates or the multitude of religious orders; and a soil that required hands, could not admit of people who engage by oath, as much as in them lies, to let the human species perish. They had the example of England before their eyes, which was grown one third more populous, since the ministers of the altar enjoyed the comforts of matrimony, and the hopes of families were no longer buried in the celibacy of a cloyster.

Amsterdam, notwithstanding the inconvenience of its port, was become the magazine of the universe. Every part of Holland was enriched and improved by immense labour. The waters of the ocean were shut out by double dikes. Canals were scooped in all the towns, and lined with free-stone; the streets were turned into large quays, adorned with lofty trees. Boats laden with goods came up to the merchant's door; while strangers were never tired with admiring that singular mixture formed by the ridges of houses, the tops of trees, and the streamers flying, which exhibit the sea, the town, and the country, all under one view.]

But human affairs are ever chequered with good and evil. Mankind are so apt to deviate from their principles, that this republic had like to have destroyed the liberty for which she had so bravely fought; and persecution was seen to riot in the blood of a people, whose happiness and laws were founded on toleration.

Two

Two Calvinistical doctors did what so many doctors have done in other places. Gomar and ^{1609.} Arminius disputed most furiously at Leyden a-^{and} bout what neither of them understood. This^{follow-} produced dissensions in the United Provinces. The disputes was in many respects similar to those of the Thomists and Scotists, or of the Jansenists and Molinists, concerning predestination, grace, liberty, and other obscure and frivolous articles, where they know not how to define the very subject about which they dispute. The leisure they enjoyed during the truce, unluckily gave those ignorant people an opportunity to fill their heads with theologic disputes; till at length, out of a scholastic controversy, there arose two parties in the state. Maurice, prince of Orange, was at the head of the Gomarists: the pensionary Barnevelt favoured the Arminians. Du Maurier says, that he had been told by the ambassador his father, that Maurice having proposed to the pensionary Barnevelt to consent to his assuming the supreme power, this zealous republican shewed him the danger and injustice of the proposal; and from that time Barnevelt's ruin was resolved upon. This however is certain, that the stadtholder endeavoured to increase his authority by means of the Gomarists, and Barnevelt to check it by the help of the Arminians: that several towns levied soldiers who were called *Expectants*, because they *expected* their orders from the magistrate, but would take none from the stadtholder: that there were insurrections in some cities; and that prince Maurice vigorously persecuted the opposite party. At length he convened a
Calvi-

Calvinistical council at Dordrecht, composed of all the reformed churches in Europe, except that of France, whom the king would not suffer to send her deputies. The fathers of this synod, who had exclaimed so loudly against the fathers of various councils, and against their authority, condemned the Arminians, just as they themselves had been condemned by the council of Trent. Above a hundred Arminian ministers were banished out of the United Provinces. Prince Maurice chose six and twenty commissioners from among the body of the nobility and the magistrates, to try the grand pensionary Barneveldt, the celebrated Grotius, and some others of the Arminian party. They had been kept six months in confinement, before they were brought to their trial.

One of the chief motives of the revolt of the seven provinces and of the house of Orange against Spain, was the duke of Alva's severity, in suffering prisoners to languish a great while in confinement, without bringing them to a trial, and in appointing commissioners to condemn them. The same grievances which had caused such complaints under the Spanish monarchy, were revived again in the bosom of liberty. Barneveldt was beheaded at the Hague, more unjustly than count Egmont, and count Horn at Brussels. He was an old man of seventy, who had served the republic forty years in the cabinet, with as much success as Maurice and his brothers had served her in the field. The sentence imported, *that he had done all he could do to vex the church of God.* Grotius, afterwards ambassador from Sweden to France, and more illustrious for his writings than for his

his embassy, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, from whence he escaped by the fortunate temerity of his wife. This violence of the stadtholder produced conspiracies, which were followed by more executions. A son of Barnevelt resolved to revenge his father's blood upon prince Maurice. The plot was discovered. His accomplices, at the head of whom was an Arminian minister, perished by the hands of the executioner. This son of Barnevelt had the ^{1623.} good fortune to escape, while the rest of the conspirators were seized: but his younger brother was beheaded, merely for being privy to the conspiracy. De Thou was executed in France for the same cause. The condemnation of the young Dutchman was infinitely more cruel: it was the highest pitch of injustice to put him to death, because he would not turn informer against his brother. Had these melancholy times continued, the Dutch, with all their liberty, would have been more wretched than their ancestors, when slaves to the duke of Alva.

Amsterdam, though full of Gomarists, still favoured the Arminians, and embraced the principle of toleration. The ambition and cruelty of prince Maurice made a deep impression on the minds of the Dutch; and the remembrance of Barnevelt's death contributed not a little to exclude the young prince of Orange, William III, afterwards king of England, from the stadtholdership. He was yet in his cradle, when the pensionary de Wit stipulated, in the treaty of peace between the states-general and Cromwell in 1653, that there should be no more stadtholders in Holland. Cromwell persecuted the
memory

memory of king Charles I in his grandson: while the pensionary de Wit was revenging the death of another pensionary. This conduct proved at length the fatal cause of the death of himself and his brother: but this was almost the only catastrophe in Holland, produced by the struggle of liberty and ambition. The East-India company, independent of those factions, built Batavia in 1618, in spite of the kings of that country, and in spite of the English who attacked this new settlement. The Dutch, though born in a marshy, and in great measure barren, country, were erecting a kingdom under the fifth degree of North latitude, in the most fruitful part of the globe, where the fields are covered with rice, pepper, and cinnamon; and where the vine bears fruit twice a year. They made themselves masters afterwards of Bantam in the same island, and drove the English from thence. This single company had eight large governments in the Indies, including the Cape of Good Hope, though at the most southern point of Africa; an important post which they took from the Portuguese in 1651.

At the same time that the Dutch were establishing themselves at the extremity of the East, they began to extend their conquests westward in America, after the expiration of the twelve years truce with Spain. The West-India company made themselves masters of almost the whole country of Brasil from 1623 to 1636. It was amazing to see, by the registers of that company, that, in so short a space, she had fitted out eighteen hundred ships, as well for war as commerce, and had taken five hundred and forty-five

five sail from the Spaniards. This company was then superior to that of the East-Indies; but, when the Portuguese shook off the Spanish yoke, they defended their possessions better than the kings of Spain had done; and retook Brazil, where they have discovered new treasures.

The most profitable of all the Dutch expeditions was that of admiral Peter Hein, who took 1628. the whole fleet of galleons, upon their return from the Havannah; and by this single voyage brought home twenty millions of livres. The treasures of the new world, which had been conquered by the Spaniards, only served to enable their former subjects, now grown a powerful enemy, to make head against them. During the space of fourscore years, with the interval only of a truce of twelve, the republic maintained this war, in the Netherlands, in the East-Indies, and in the new world: she was also able to conclude an advantageous peace at Munster in 1647, independently of France her ally, and long her protectress, notwithstanding she had promised to sign no treaty without the concurrence of this crown. Soon after, that is in 1652, and the following years, she was not afraid to break with England her former ally: she fitted out as large a fleet as the English; when admiral Tromp yielded to the famous admiral Blake, only by losing his life in a sea engagement. She afterwards succoured the king of Denmark, who was besieged at Copenhagen by Charles X, king of Sweden. Her fleet, under the command of admiral Opdam, beat the Swedish squadron, and raised the siege of Copenhagen.

gen. Still a rival to the English in commerce, she waged war against Charles II. as she had done before against Cromwell. She became the arbiter of crowns in 1668, and obliged Lewis XIV to conclude a peace with Spain. This same republic, at first so strongly attached to France, proved afterwards the support of Spain against this crown to the end of the seventeenth century. She continued a long time to have a principal share in the affairs of Europe. She rose after her fall: and though reduced at present, she subsists intirely by commerce, to which she owed her rise, without having made any conquest in Europe except that of Maestricht, and a small wretched country, which serves to cover her frontiers. Since the peace of Munster she has not at all increased: in which respect she bears a greater resemblance to the ancient republic of Tyre, powerful by her commerce only, than to Carthage, which had so many possessions in Africa; or to Venice, which had extended itself too much upon the terra firma.



C H A P. CLVII.

Of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, in the seventeenth century.

DENMARK had no share in the system of Europe during the sixteenth century. Nothing remarkable happened in this country to attract the attention of other nations, since the solemn

solemn dethroning of the tyrant Christiern II. This kingdom, consisting of Denmark and Norway, was a long time governed nearly in the same manner as Poland: it was an aristocracy, over which presided an elective king. This is the ancient form of government that prevailed almost throughout Europe. But in the year 1660, the states in full assembly, conferred the hereditary right and absolute sovereignty on king Frederick III. Denmark is the only kingdom in the world, where the people themselves have established arbitrary power by a solemn act. Norway, though six hundred miles in extent, did not render this nation powerful: a country of barren rocks cannot be very populous. The islands which constitute Denmark, are more fertile; but they had not yet received their present improvements. Little was it then expected that the Danes would erect an East-India company, and obtain a settlement at Tranquebar; that the king would be able to maintain thirty men of war, and an army of five and twenty thousand men. Governments are like the human species; they are long a forming. The spirit of commerce, industry, and œconomy, has been gradually introduced into this kingdom. I shall not take notice of the wars which Denmark maintained against Sweden; there are scarce any vestiges of them to be seen: and I had much rather consider the manners of people and their form of governments, than enter into a detail of murders, productive of no events worthy the attention of posterity.

The kings of Sweden were no more despotic than those of Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth

seventeenth centuries. The four estates, composed of a thousand gentlemen, a hundred ecclesiastics, a hundred and fifty burghers, and about two hundred and fifty peasants, constituted the legislative power. They were strangers, as well as the inhabitants of Denmark and the rest of the North, to the titles of count, marquiss, or baron, so common in the other parts of Europe. It was king Eric, son of Gustavus Vasa, that first introduced them towards the year 1561. Yet this Eric was far from being an absolute prince; he left behind him a memorable example of the misfortunes that attend the desire of despotism, without the capacity of attaining it. The son of the restorer of Sweden was accused of several
1569. crimes before the assembly of the states, and deposed by their unanimous sentence, as king Christiern II had been deposed in Denmark. They condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, and the crown was given to his brother John.

As our principal design, amidst this variety of events, is to fix the attention of the reader on those occurrences which shew the manners and spirit of the times, it is proper to observe, that this king John, who was a catholic, apprehending lest his brother's adherents should release him out of prison, and place him again upon the throne, sent a poisonous draught to him publickly, as the Turkish sultan sends a bowstring: he likewise ordered him to be solemnly interred with his face uncovered, to the end that nobody might question his death, or make use of his name to disturb the government.

The

The jesuit Possevinus, whom pope Gregory XIII appointed Nuncio to Sweden and the rest of the northern kingdoms, imposed, as a penance on king John for having poisoned his brother, that he should make but one meal on Wednesdays; a ridiculous penance, but which shews however the obligation of atoning for criminal actions. Those of Eric had been punished more rigorously.

Neither king John nor the nuncio Possevinus could restore the catholic religion. King John, having an utter dislike to Lutheranism, tried to introduce the Greek communion; but with no better success. This prince had some tincture of learning, and he was almost the only man in his kingdom who dabbled in controversy. There was an university at Upsal; but it was reduced to two or three professors without students. The nation had no taste but for arms; yet they had made no great progress in the military art. They had not the use of artillery till the reign of Gustavus Vasa; and so little were they acquainted with the other arts, that when this king John was taken ill in 1592, he died for want of a physician; quite the reverse of other kings, who have often too many. At that time there was neither physician nor surgeon in Sweden. Only a few drugs were sold in grocer's shops, and taken at adventure. This was the case almost throughout the North. Mankind, far from being troubled with superfluous arts, had not as yet acquired even those that are reckoned necessary.

Yet Sweden was likely to become very formidable. Sigismund, son of king John, was elected

1600;

- lected king of Poland eight years before the death of his father. The Swedes were then subduing Finland and Estonia. Sigismund king of Sweden and Poland bid fair for conquering all Muscovy, a country of very little strength at that time, being defended by indifferent troops: yet, as Sigismund continued to be a catholic, and the Swedes Lutherans, he conquered nothing; but instead of that he lost the crown of
1604. Sweden. The same states of the kingdom who had deposed his uncle Eric, deposed him likewise, and conferred the crown on another uncle of his, who was Charles IX, father of the great Gustavus-Adolphus. All this did not happen without disturbances, wars, and conspiracies, with which such revolutions are generally attended. Charles IX was looked upon as an usurper by the princes in alliance with Sigismund; but in Sweden he was their lawful king.
1611. His son Gustavus-Adolphus succeeded him without difficulty, when he had not as yet attained his eighteenth year complete, which is the age of majority for the kings of Sweden and Denmark, as well as for the princes of the empire. The Swedes were not then possessed of Scania, their best province; it had been ceded to Denmark so long ago as the fourteenth century; so that the Swedish territory was generally the theatre of every war between the two crowns. The first thing Gustavus Adolphus did, was to march an army into this province of Scania; but he never could recover it. His expeditions in the beginning of his reign were unsuccessful; and he was obliged to conclude a
1613. peace with Denmark. But such was his passion

sion for war, that he marched against the Muscovites beyond the Narva, as soon as he made peace with the Danes. The next thing he did was to fall upon Livonia, which then belonged to the Poles; and attacking his cousin Sigismund in every quarter, he penetrated into Livonia. The emperor Ferdinand II was Sigismund's ally, and dreaded Gustavus-Adolphus. He sent some troops against him. Thence we may judge, that the French ministry had no great difficulty to persuade Gustavus to make a descent upon Germany. He concluded a truce with Sigismund and Poland, during which he preserved his conquests. We have already seen in what manner he shook the throne of Ferdinand II; and how he was snatched away in the flower of life, in the midst of his victories. 1620.

His daughter Christina, a princess not less celebrated than Gustavus, after governing as gloriously as her father had fought, and after directing the treaties of Westphalia which pacified the troubles of Germany, surprized all the world by abdicating the crown at the age of seven and twenty. Puffendorff says she was obliged to lay down: but at the same time he acknowledges, that, when this princess communicated her resolution the first time to the senate in 1651, the members conjured her with tears not to forsake the kingdom; that she continued nevertheless resolute in her contempt of the throne; and at length, having convened the states, she quitted Sweden, notwithstanding the intreaties of all her subjects. She had never discovered any incapacity of wearing the crown; but she was fond of the polite arts. Had she been queen 1632.

queen of Italy, the country to which she retired, she never would have abdicated. This is the strongest example of the real superiority of the liberal arts, and the improvements of society, over mere state and grandeur.

The states chose her cousin, Charles X, duke of Deux-Ponts, to succeed her. This prince delighted in nothing but war. He marched into Poland, and conquered it with the same rapidity, as it was conquered in our days by his grandson Charles XII; and he lost it as suddenly. The Danes, at that time the defenders of Poland, because they were ever enemies to Sweden, fell upon him; but Charles, though driven out of
1658. Poland, marched over the frozen Sound, from island to island, and appeared before Copenhagen. This surprizing expedition produced a peace at length, whereby Sweden recovered Scania, after having been dispossessed of it three centuries.

His son Charles XI was the first absolute king, and his grandson Charles XII the last. Here I shall observe only one thing, which sheweth how greatly the spirit of government has changed in the North, and what a length of time was requisite to produce this revolution. It was not till after the death of Charles XII that the Swedes, hitherto a military nation, betook themselves to agriculture and commerce, so far as an ungrateful soil and the mediocrity of their circumstances would permit. They have at length established an East-India company; and their iron, which heretofore they used only as an instrument of destruction, is now exported on board their ships as merchandize, from the port
of

of Gottenburgh to the southern provinces of India and China.

Poland was the only country in the world, which mixing the name of a republic with that of monarchy, always chose a foreign king, as the Venetians chose their general. This is also the only kingdom that has not been actuated by the spirit of conquest, but confines its views to the defending of its frontiers against the Turks and the Muscovites.

The factions of catholics and protestants, which had raised such disturbances in other countries, penetrated at length into this kingdom. The protestants were so considerable as to insist upon liberty of conscience in 1587, which they obtained; and such was the weight of their party, that the pope's nuncio, Annibal of Capua, made use of their interest only, in endeavouring to convey the crown to the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor Rodolphus II. Accordingly the Polish protestants chose this Austrian prince, while the opposite faction elected Sigismund the Swede, grandson of Gustavus Vasa, of whom we have been speaking. Had the rights of blood been consulted, Sigismund would have been king of Sweden; but we have seen how the states of that nation disposed of the throne. So far was he from reigning in Sweden, that his cousin Gustavus-Adolphus had like to have dethroned him in Poland, and did not relinquish his enterprize but with a view of deposing the emperor.

It is amazing that the Swedes should so often over-run Poland, while the Turks, a more powerful nation, could never penetrate beyond

the frontiers. In the reign of Sigismund, sultan Osman attacked the Poles with two hundred thousand men, on the side of Moldavia; but the Cossacks, the only people at that time attached to the republic, and under her protection, made so obstinate a resistance, as frustrated the designs of the Turks. What are we to conclude from the bad success of so great an armament, but that Osman's captains did not understand the art of war?

1632. Sigismund died the same year as Gustavus-Adolphus. His son and successor Ladislaus saw the fatal defection of those Cossacks, who, having been for many years the bulwark of the republic, at length submitted themselves to the Russians and the Turks. These people, whom we must distinguish from the Cossacks of the river Don, are settled on both banks of the Boristhenes: they lead exactly the same life as that of the ancient Scythians or of the Tartars in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. All this part of the world to the north and the east of Europe was still savage and wild; this is the image of the pretended heroic ages, when mankind were content with necessities, of which they robbed their neighbours. The Polish lords of the palatinates bordering on the Ukraine, wanted to treat some of the Cossacks as their vassals, that is, as slaves. The whole nation, whose sole possession was liberty, rose up with one accord, and ravaged for a long time the lands of the republic. Those Cossacks were of the Greek religion, which was a further reason for their becoming irreconcilable enemies to Poland. Some of them surrendered themselves to the
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the Russians, others to the Turks, upon condition, however, of being permitted to enjoy their anarchy. They still preserve what little religion they had of the Greeks; while they have intirely lost their liberty under the empire of Russia, which, after being civilized herself in our days, has thought proper to civilize the Cossacks.

King Ladislaus died without leaving any issue by his wife Mary Louisa of Gonzaga, the same who was in love with Cinq-Mars, master of the horse to Lewis XIII. Ladislaus had two brothers, both in orders; one a jesuit and cardinal, named John Casimir; the other bishop of Breslau and Kiow. The cardinal and the bishop disputed the crown. Casimir was elected; upon 1648. which he sent back his cardinal's hat, and ascended the throne of Poland. But after a reign of twenty years, during which his kingdom was constantly a prey to domestic factions, and ravaged alternately by Charles X king of Sweden, or by the Muscovites and Cossacks, he followed queen Christina's example, in abdicating the crown, but with less glory than 1668. that princess, and, retiring to Paris, he died abbot of St. Germain des Prés.

Neither was Poland more successful under his successor Michael Coribut. The territory which this republic has been stripped of at different times, would compose a very extensive kingdom. The Swedes had deprived her of Livonia, which the Russians possess at present, together with Courland. Those same Russians, after having heretofore dispossessed her of the provinces of Pleskou and Smolenskou, made themselves mas-

ters of almost all Kiow and the Ukraine. During Michael's reign the Turks took Podolia and
 1672. Volhinia. The republic had no other way to maintain itself than by paying tribute to the port. It is true that the great marshal of the crown, John Sobieski, cancelled this disgrace with Turk-
 1674. ish blood at the famous battle of Chokzim, which delivered Poland from the tribute, and procured Sobieski the crown: but, in all probability, this famous battle was not so bloody and decisive as reported, since the Turks for that time kept Podolia, and part of Ukraine, with the important fortress of Kaminiak, which they had taken from the Poles. Sobieski, indeed, upon ascending the throne of Poland, immortalized his name, by raising the siege of Vienna; but he was never able to recover Kaminiak; and the Turks did not restore it till after his decease, at the peace of Carlowitz in 1699. During all those convulsions, Poland neither changed government, laws, nor manners; neither grew richer, nor poorer: but her military discipline falling still very short of perfection, and Peter the Great having greatly improved his subjects in the art of war, by means of foreign officers, the consequence has been, that the Russians, heretofore despised by Poland, have obliged the latter to accept of whomsoever they think proper to nominate to the crown; and ten thousand Muscovites have given law to the whole body of the Polish nobility.

In regard to religion, it hath occasioned but very little disturbance in this part of the world. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century the Unitarians had some churches in Poland,

land, and Lithuania. These Unitarians, who are sometimes called Socinians, at other times Arians, pretended to maintain the cause of the Deity, by considering him as a single, and incommunicable being, who had only an adoptive son. This was not strictly the doctrine of the antient Eusebians. They pretended to revive primitive Christianity, by renouncing civil dignities and the profession of arms. A sect that scrupled to fight, did not seem proper for a country, where the inhabitants were continually at war with the Turks. Yet this religion made a tolerable figure in Poland till the year 1658: it was suppressed at that time, because its followers would intrigue, though they would not fight. They were connected with Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, an enemy to the republic. Still there are great numbers of them in Poland, though they are debarred the liberty of public worship.

The declaimer Maimbourg pretends that they took shelter in Holland, *where, says he, all religions are tolerated except the catholic.* He is mistaken as well concerning this, as many other articles. So far are the catholics from not being tolerated in the United Netherlands, that they constitute one third of the inhabitants; while the Unitarians, or Socinians, were never allowed any place of public worship. This religion has privately gained ground in Holland, in Transylvania, Silesia, Poland, and especially in England. We may reckon it among the revolutions of the human mind, that this which was the predominant religion for the space of three hundred and fifty years after the reign of Constantine, has appeared again within these two centuries, and

spread through so many provinces without having so much as a single temple in any part of the world. One would imagine that the several states of Christendom were afraid to tolerate an opinion, which had reigned so long triumphant over all other communions.



C H A P. CLVIII.

Of Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

AT that time we did not give the name of *Russia* to *Muscovy*; for we had only a very confused idea of this country. The town of *Moscow* was better known in *Europe* than any other part of this vast empire, and from thence it had its name. The sovereign still takes the title of emperor of all the *Russias*, because in fact there are several provinces so called, which either belong to him, or to which he hath pretensions; as white *Russia*, where *Moscow* is situated, the antient country of the *Roxelans*; black *Russia*, part of which towards *Lithuania* belongs to the *Poles*; and red *Russia*, which lies westward of the *Boristhenes*.

Muscovy or *Russia* was governed in the sixteenth century much in the same manner as *Poland*. The *Boiars* *, as well as the *Polish* nobility, considered the tenants upon their estate as their sole property and wealth. The husbandmen were their slaves. The *Czar* was often-

* *Boiars* are certain great lords in *Muscovy* who administer justice, try causes, and are the ministers of state.

times chosen by those boiars; but he used also to nominate his successor; which was never practised in Poland. Artillery was very little used in this part of the world during the sixteenth century; they were strangers to military discipline; each boiar led his peasants to the rendezvous appointed for the troops, where he armed them with bows and arrows, sabres, pikes, and some fusils. They never carried on any regular operations; they had neither magazines nor hospitals. All they did was by incursions; and when there was nothing more to plunder, the boiar, as well as the Polish starost, and the Tartar mirza, brought back his troops.

To till the lands, to lead their flocks to pasture, and to fight, was the life of the Russians till the reign of Peter the great, and is still the life of three fourths of the inhabitants of the earth.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Russians made an easy conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan from the Tartars; as the latter were greatly weakened, and worse disciplined than the former. But, till the reign of Peter the great, the Russians could never maintain their ground against Sweden, on the side of Finland: regular troops used always to beat them. From the time of John Basilowitz, or Basilides, who conquered Astracan and Casan, with part of Livonia, Pleskou and Novogorod, to the reign of Peter I, there happened nothing considerable.

This Basilides bore a great resemblance to Peter I in this, that they both put their sons to death. John Basilides suspecting his son of a conspiracy during the siege of Pleskou, killed him with his pike; and Peter, having caused

his son to be condemned to death, would not suffer him to survive the sentence, though he seemed to forgive him.

History hardly furnishes a more extraordinary event, than that of the pretender Demetrius, who raised such disturbances in Russia after the death of John Basilides. This czar left two sons; one named Fedor or Theodore, the other Demetri or Demetrius. Fedor succeeded his father; and Demetrius was confined to a village called Ugliſ, with the czarina his mother. As yet the rude manners of that court had not adopted the policy of the Turkish sultans, or of the antient emperors of Greece, who sacrifice the princes of the blood to the security of the throne. The prime minister, named Boris-Gudenou, whose sister had been married to the czar Fedor, persuaded his master, that he should never reign quietly unless he imitated the Turks, and assassinated his brother. An officer was therefore sent to the village, where young Demetrius was brought up, with orders to kill him. The officer, at his return, said he had executed his commission, and demanded the reward that had been promised him. All the reward Boris gave the murderer was to kill him also, in order to suppress every proof of the guilt. It is said that Boris poisoned the czar Fedor some time after; and, though he was suspected of the crime, yet this did not prevent his ascending the throne.

1597. At that time appeared a young man in Lithuania, who pretended to be prince Demetrius, that had escaped out of the hands of the assassin. Several, who had seen him at his mother's, knew him again by particular marks. He bore a perfect

fect resemblance to the prince; he shewed the cross set with diamonds, that had been tied about Demetrius's neck. The palatine of Sandomir acknowledged him presently for the son of John Basilides, and for the lawful czar. The diet of Poland made a solemn inquiry into the proofs of his royal extraction; and, finding them past all doubt, lent him an army to drive out the usurper Boris, and to recover the throne of his ancestors.

In the mean while Demetrius was treated in Russia as an impostor, and even as a magician. The Russians could not believe that a Demetrius, who was supported by the Poles, a catholic nation, and who had two Jesuits for his council, could be their real king. So little did the boiars question his being an impostor, that, upon the decease of the czar Boris, they made no difficulty to place his son, then only fifteen years of age, on the throne.

During these transactions, Demetrius was upon his march into Russia, with a Polish army. They who were dissatisfied with the Russian government, declared in his favour. A general of that nation, advancing within sight of Demetrius's army, cried out, *he is the only lawful heir of the empire*, and immediately went over with the troops under his command. The revolution was sudden and complete; and Demetrius ceased to be a magician. The inhabitants of Moscow ran to the palace, and dragged the mother and son of Boris to prison. Demetrius was proclaimed czar without opposition. It was given out that young Boris and his mother had killed

themselves in prison; but it is more likely that Demetrius put them to death.

The widow of John Basilides, mother of the real or pretended Demetrius, had been banished long since to the North of *Russia*; the new czar sent a magnificent coach to bring her to Moscow. He went himself part of the way to meet her; they embraced each other with transports and tears of joy in the presence of a prodigious multitude; so that no body doubted but Demetrius was the lawful emperor. He married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, his first protector; and this is what ruined him. The people were shocked to see a catholic empress, a court composed of foreigners, and, above all, a church built for the Jesuits: so that Demetrius was no longer looked upon as a Russian.

In the midst of the entertainments at the marriage of the czar, a boiar, whose name was Zuski, puts himself at the head of a number of conspirators, who, entering the palace, with the sword in one hand, and a cross in the other, cut the Polish guard in pieces. Demetrius is loaded with chains. The conspirators confront him with the czarina, widow of John Basilides, who had so solemnly acknowledged him for her son. The clergy obliged her to declare upon oath the real truth in regard to Demetrius. Whether it was that the apprehension of death forced this princess to take a false oath, and to get the better of nature, or whether she did it out of regard to the real truth, she confessed, with tears in her eyes, that the czar was not her son, that the real Demetrius had been murdered in his infancy, that she had only followed the
example

example of the whole nation in acknowledging the new czar, and to be revenged for the blood of her son upon a family of assassins. Demetrius was now said to be a low fellow, named *Griška Utropoya*, who had been for some time a monk in a Russian convent. Before, they used to reproach him with not following the Greek religion, and with differing intirely from the customs and manners of Russia; but now, they called him a Russian peasant, and a Greek monk. 1606. Let him be what he would, Zuski, the chief of the conspirators, killed him with his own hand, and succeeded to the empire.

This new czar, having suddenly mounted the throne, sent back the few Poles, that had escaped the massacre, to their own country. As he had no other right to the crown, than that of having assassinated Demetrius, the rest of the boiars, dissatisfied with being subject to a person so lately their equal, soon pretended that the deceased czar was not an impostor, but the real Demetrius, and that the murderer was unworthy of the throne. The name of Demetrius became dear to the Russians. The chancellor of the late czar declared, that he was not dead, but would quickly recover of his wounds, and appear again at the head of his loyal subjects.

This chancellor made a progress through Muscovy, with a young man in a litter, whom he called Demetrius, and treated as his sovereign. At the very sound of Demetrius's name the people rose up; they fought some battles in behalf of his cause, without so much as seeing him; but the chancellor's party having been defeated, this second Demetrius soon disappeared. How-

ever, the people were so mad after the name, that a third Demetrius presented himself in Poland. This man was more fortunate than the rest: being supported by Sigismund king of Poland, he laid siege to Moscow, where Zuski resided. The tyrant was shut up in this capital; but he had still in his power the widow of the first Demetrius, and the palatine of Sandomir, that widow's father. The third Demetrius demanded the princess his wife. Zuski delivered up both the father and the daughter, hoping perhaps to soften the king of Poland; or flattering himself that the palatine's daughter would not acknowledge the impostor. But this impostor was victorious; the widow of the first declared this third Demetrius to be her real husband; so that as the first of that name found out his mother, the third as easily found out his wife. The palatine swore that this was his son-in-law; and the people made no longer any doubt of it. The boiars, divided betwixt the usurper Zuski and the impostor, would acknowledge neither. They deposed Zuski, and shut him up in a convent. This was still a superstition of the Russians, as it had been of the antient Greek church, that a prince who had been once a monk, was incapable of ever reigning again: and this same opinion had been insensibly introduced into the Latin church. Zuski appeared no more; and Demetrius was assassinated at a public entertainment by a party of Tartars.

The boiars then offered their crown to prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund king of Poland. Ladislaus was preparing to take possession, when behold a fourth Demetrius starts up, and enters the

the lifts with him. This man gave out, that God had constantly preserved him, though he had been in all appearance assassinated at Uglis by the tyrant Boris, at Moscow by the usurper Zuski, and afterwards by the Tartars. He found partisans that believed in those three miracles. The town of Pleskou acknowledged him as czar; here he fixed his residence a few years; during which time the Russians repenting they had called in the Poles, drove them back again; and Sigismund renounced all hopes of seeing his son Ladislaus seated on the throne of Russia. In the midst of these disturbances, the son of the patriarch Fedor Roma now was made czar. This patriarch was related by the females to the czar John Basilides. His son, Michael Federowitz, that is, son of Fedor, was chosen to this dignity at the age of seventeen, by his father's influence. All Russia acknowledged this Federowitz, and the city of Pleskou delivered up the fourth Demetrius, who was hanged.

There remained still a fifth, the son of the first, who had been really czar, and married the daughter of the palatine of Sandomir. His mother removed him from Moscow, when she went to meet the third Demetrius, and pretended to acknowledge him for her real husband. She retired afterwards among the Cossacks along with this child, who was looked upon, and might be really, the grandson of John Basilides: but as soon as Michael Federowitz was seated on the throne, he obliged the Cossacks to deliver up the mother and the child, who were both drowned. 1613.

One would not have expected a sixth Demetrius. Yet, during the reign of Michael Federowitz in Russia, and of Ladislaus in Poland, another pretender of this name appeared in the Czar's dominions. As some young people were bathing one day with a Cossack of their own age, they took notice of Russian characters on his back, which were pricked with a needle; and they found them to be, *Demetrius son of the czar Demetrius*. He was supposed to be the same son of the first Demetrius, by the palatine of Sandomir's daughter, whom the czar Federowitz had ordered to be drowned. God had operated a miracle to save him; he was treated as the czar's son at the court of Ladislaus; and they intended to make use of him in order to excite fresh disturbances in Russia. The death of his protector Ladislaus blasted all his hopes. He retired to Sweden, and thence to Holstein; but, unfortunately for this adventurer, the duke of Holstein having sent an embassy into Russia, in order to open a communication for a silk trade with Persia, and the ambassador having had no other success but to contract debts at Moscow, the duke of Holstein discharged the debts by delivering up this last Demetrius, who was quartered alive.

These adventures, which sound as fabulous, and yet are extremely true, do not happen to a civilized nation, that has a regular form of government. The czar Alexis, son of Michael Federowitz, and grandson of the patriarch Fedor Romanow, crowned in 1645, is hardly known, only as he was the father of Peter the great. Till the reign of this last prince,
Russia

Russia was a country with which the people of the south of Europe were but little acquainted, a country that lay buried under the wretched despotism of the prince over the boiars, and of these over the husbandmen. The abuses of which civilized nations complain in our time, would have been looked upon as excellent laws for the Russians. There are some regulations with us, that create complaints among merchants and manufacturers: but in those northern regions, it was very rare to have a bed; the people lay upon boards, which some not so poor as the rest used to cover with coarse cloth, bought at foreign fairs; or with the skin of some animal. When the earl of Carlisle, ambassador from Charles II king of England to the court of Moscow, travelled through the whole empire of Russia, from Archangel to Poland, in 1663, he found this custom, and the general poverty which it supposeth, every where established; while gold and diamonds made a gaudy shew at court, without taste or elegance.

A crim Tartar, or a don Cossack, reduced to the savage life of a Russian, was still happier than this Russian, because he was free to go wherever he pleased; whereas the other was forbid to leave his country upon pain of death. By the history of Charles XII, and that of Peter I included therein, the reader may see the immense difference which half a century hath produced in this empire. Thirty centuries would not have effected what Peter did by travelling a few years.

C H A P. CLIX.

*Of the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth century.
Siege of Candia.*

AFTER the death of Selim II, the Turks preserved their superiority in Europe and 1585. Asia. They extended their frontiers still further, under Amurat III. His generals took Raab in Hungary on one side, and Tibris in Persia on the other. The janizaries had been not only formidable to their enemies, but to their masters: Amurat III let them see that he was worthy to command them. One day they demanded the head of the Testerdar, that is, of the high-treasurer. They were making a riot before the inner gate of the seraglio, and threatened the sultan himself: he orders the gate to be thrown 1593. open; when, followed by all the officers of the seraglio, he rushes out with his sabre, and kills several; the rest disperse and submit. This proud corps tamely beheld the execution of the ringleaders of the insurrection. But what sort of soldiers must they have been, whom their master was obliged to fight! Sometimes they could be checked; but there was no possibility of breaking them to the yoke, or training them to discipline, or of intirely abolishing them: nay so great was their power that they often disposed of the empire.

Mahomet III, son of Amurat, deserved more than any other sultan, that the janizaries should make him feel the weight of their usurped privilege of judging their masters. He began his reign

reign with strangling nineteen of his brothers, and drowning twelve of his father's concubines, who were supposed to be pregnant : and yet there was hardly the least complaint heard. None but those who are not possessed of power, meet with the punishment due to their crimes. This barbarian reigned in splendor. He protected Transylvania against the emperor Rodolphus II, who neglected the care of his dominions and of the empire ; he ravaged Hungary ; he took Agria in 1596. fight of the archduke Matthias ; and, though his administration was stained with cruelty, he supported the Ottoman grandeur.

During the reign of his son Achmet I, from 1603. 1603 to 1631, this empire was upon the decline. The king of Persia, Shah Abas the great, was constantly victorious over the Turks. He dispossessed them of Tauris, the antient theatre of war between the Turks and Persians ; he drove them out of all their conquests, and thereby delivered Rodolphus, Matthias, and Ferdinand II, from inquietude. He fought for the Christians unknown to him. In 1615 Achmet concludes a shameful peace with the emperor Matthias ; to whom he surrenders Agria, Canisa, Pest, and Alba Regalis, the conquests of his ancestors. Such are the vicissitudes of fortune. Thus it is that Ussum Cassan, and Ismael Sophi, stopped the progress of the Turks against the empire and against Venice ; and thus, before that time, did Tamerlane save Constantinople.

What passed after the death of Achmet plainly sheweth, that the Turkish government was not that absolute monarchy, or despotic state, represented by our historians. This power was in the sultan's

sultan's hands, like a two-edged sword, which hurts the owner, if he happens to be unskilful in wielding it. The empire was oftentimes, as count Marfigli says, a military democracy, that is, a government still worse than absolute monarchy. The order of succession was not settled; the janizaries and the divan did not chuse the son of Achmet, whose name was Osman, for their emperor, but Mustapha brother of Achmet. At the expiration of two months they took a dislike to Mustapha, who they pretended was incapable of governing: upon which they confined him, and proclaimed young Osman his nephew, then but in his twelfth year; so that they really governed in his name. Mustapha, though close confined, had still a party, who persuaded the janizaries, that young Osman had a design to reduce their number, in order to weaken their power. Upon this pretence Osman was deposed; they committed him to the seven towers, whither the grand vizir Daout went himself to assassinate his sovereign. Mustapha was released from his confinement a second time, and proclaimed sultan; but within a twelve-month he was dethroned again by the same janizaries, who had elected him twice. Never prince, since Vitellius, was treated with more ignominy. He was conducted through the streets of Constantinople upon an ass, exposed to the insolence of the mob, shut up in the seven towers, and strangled at length in prison.

Under Amurath IV, surnamed *Gasi the intrepid*, things assume a different turn. This prince makes the janizaries respect him, by leading them against the Persians, whom he dispossesseth of

of Erzerum. Ten years after he storms Bagdat, Dec. the antient Seleucia, and capital of Mesopotamia,^{12,} which we call Diarbek; it has still continued^{1638.} in the hands of the Turks, as well as Erzerum. The Persians ever since have thought proper to secure their frontiers by laying the country waste, the whole space of thirty leagues beyond Bagdat, thus converting the most fruitful province of Persia into a barren wild. Other nations defend their frontiers by citadels; the Persians secure theirs by deserts.

At the same time that Amurath was taking Bagdat, he sent forty thousand men to the assistance of the great mogul Cha-Gean against his son Aurengzeb. Had this torrent, which overwhelmed Asia, broke into Germany, at that time a prey to the Swedes and French, and weakened by its own divisions, this country would have been in great danger of losing the glory of having never been intirely subdued.

The Turks acknowledge that this conqueror had no other merit than his valour, that he was cruel, and that his intemperance increased his cruelty; a drunken fit put an end to his days, and dishonoured his memory.

His son Ibrahim was subject to the same vices as his father, with greater weakness, and no courage. Yet it was in this reign that the Turks conquered the isle of Candia, when nothing more was left to take but the capital and a few forts, which defended themselves four and twenty years. This island, so famous in antient history for its laws, its arts, and even its fables, had been conquered by the Mahometan Arabs in the beginning of the ninth century. They built
the

the city of Candia, from whence the whole island, took its name. The Greek emperors drove them from thence at the end of fourscore years; but, at the time of the crusades, when the Latin princes entered into a league to succour Constantinople, and when, instead of defending, they plundered the Greek empire, the Venetians purchased the isle of Candia, and were so fortunate as to keep it.

An adventure of a very extraordinary nature, and which has something of the air of a romance, drew the Ottoman arms upon Candia. Six Maltese galleys had taken a Turkish vessel, and put in with their prize to a port of this island, named Calismene. It is pretended that this Turkish vessel had a son of the grand signor on board: what made people think thus was, that the Kislar aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, with several officers of the seraglio, were on board the same vessel, and that this child was attended with extraordinary respect. The Kislar aga having been killed in the engagement, the officers declared that the infant belonged to Ibrahim, and that his mother was sending him to Egypt. At Malta they treated him a long time as the sultan's son, in expectation of a ransom proportioned to his high birth. The sultan never would vouchsafe to propose a ransom; whether it was that he did not chuse to treat with the knights of Malta at all, or that the prisoner was not really his son. At length this pretended prince, being neglected by the Maltese, became a Dominican friar, and was long known by the name of the Ottoman father: the Dominicans

minicans have boasted ever since that the son of a sultan was a member of their order.

The Turks, unable to take their revenge of Malta, whose inaccessible rocks bid defiance to the whole Ottoman power, wreaked their indignation upon Venice. They charged this republic with having admitted the Maltese prize into their port, contrary to the treaties betwixt the two powers. A Turkish fleet appeared before Candia: their troops landed and made themselves masters of Canea, and, in a very little ^{1645.} time, of almost the whole island.

Ibrahim had no share in this event. The greatest enterprizes have been performed sometimes under the weakest princes. The janizaries were absolute masters in the reign of Ibrahim: they made conquests, not for him, but for themselves and the empire. At length this prince was deposed by a decision of the musti and the divan. The Turkish empire was then a ^{1648.} downright democracy; for, after confining the sultan to the apartment of his women, they proclaimed no other emperor, but continued the administration in the name of a sultan whom they would no longer suffer to reign.

Our historians pretend that Ibrahim was strangled at length by four mutes, from a vulgar error that mutes are employed to execute the sanguinary orders of the seraglio: but they have always been upon the footing of buffoons and dwarfs, and are never employed in any serious commission. The story of this prince's having been strangled by four mutes, we must look upon as a romance: the Turkish annals do not mention how he died; it is a secret of the seraglio.

The

The many falsities that have been told of the government of the Turks, a nation as it were in our neighbourhood, ought to render us very mistrustful in regard to antient history. What can we expect to know of the Scythians, the Gomarites, and the Celtes, when we are so ill informed of transactions near home? Upon the whole, in reading the history of nations, we ought to be satisfied with the knowledge of public events; for it will be only losing time to enter into private details, except when transmitted by ocular and credible witnesses.

It was very extraordinary that this period, so fatal to Ibrahim, should be the same to all crowned heads. The famous war of thirty years had shaken the Imperial throne of Germany. France was torn by civil dissensions, which obliged the mother of Lewis XIV to fly with her children from the capital. In England Charles I was condemned to death by his own subjects. Philip IV, king of Spain, after losing almost all his possessions in Asia, had been likewise stripped of Portugal. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the æra of usurpers, almost from one extremity of the globe to the other. Cromwell made himself master of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A rebel, whose name was Litching, obliged the last emperor of the Chinese to strangle himself, together with his wife and children; which opened a passage into China to the Tartar conquerors. In India Aurengzeb rebelled against his father, who died of a lingering death in prison, while the son enjoyed in peace the fruit of his iniquity. Mulei-Ismael, the greatest of tyrants, was practising the most horrid

horrid cruelties in the empire of Morocco. Of all the kings upon earth, those two usurpers, Aurengzeb and Mulei-Ismael, lived the happiest and the longest. They were both above a hundred years old when they died. Cromwell, though as wicked as either of them, did not live so long, but ruled and died in peace. If we examine into the history of the world, we shall find weak princes unfortunate, and great villains successful; as if the globe were a vast scene of plunder and devastation, abandoned to fortune and caprice.

The siege of Candia was like that of Troy. The Turks sometimes menaced the town, and sometimes were besieged themselves in Canea, which they had made their principal fortress. Never did the Venetians shew more resolution or courage. They beat the Turkish fleet several times. The treasure of St. Mark was exhausted in levying troops. The disturbances of the seraglio, and the irruptions of the Turks into Hungary, occasioned the siege of Candia to go on but slowly for some years; but it was never intirely interrupted. At length, in 1667, Achmet Cuprogli, or Kiuperli, grand vizir to Mahomet IV, and son of a grand vizir, laid siege to Candia in form, defended at that time by the captain-general Francesco Morosini, and by *St. André Montbrun* a French officer, whom the senate entrusted with the command of her land forces.

Never would Candia have been taken, had the Christian princes but followed the example of Lewis XIV, who in 1669 sent six or seven thousand men to the relief of this town, under the command

command of the dukes of Beaufort and Noailles. The harbour was always open; so that there needed nothing more than a constant supply of troops to withstand the attacks of the janizaries. The republic was not able to raise a sufficient number. The duke of Beaufort, the same who had acted a part more singular than illustrious in the civil wars during the king's minority, putting himself at the head of the French nobility, fell upon the Turks in their intrenchments, and spoiled all their works. But, a magazine of powder and granadoes happening to blow up in those intrenchments, the whole fruit of this gallant action was lost. The French, fancying the ground to be undermined, withdrew in some disorder, and were pursued by the Turks; the duke of Beaufort, together with a great number of French officers, was killed in the action.

Thus did Lewis XIV, though an ally of the Ottoman empire, openly assist the Venetians, and afterwards the Germans, against this empire; and yet the Turks did not seem to express any great resentment. It is not known for what reason this prince recalled his troops soon after from Candia. The duke of Noailles, on whom the command devolved after the death of the duke of Beaufort, was persuaded that the town could not hold out any longer. The captain-general Francesco Morosini, who had so long maintained this famous siege, might have abandoned the ruins without capitulating, and got off by sea which was always open. But a capitulation was the way to preserve some places in the island for the republic; and besides, it would

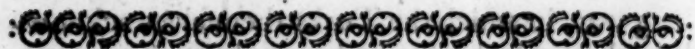
would be considered as a treaty of peace. The vizir Achmet Cuprogli placed his whole reputation, and the glory of the Ottoman arms, in taking Candia.

Hence the vizir and Morosini concluded a peace, the price of which was the town of Candia, reduced to ashes. Only about twenty infirm Christians were left behind. Never did the Christians make a more honourable capitulation with the Turks, nor was there ever a treaty better observed by that nation. Morosini had leave to carry off all the cannon that had been transported to Candia during the war. The vizir lent him vessels to remove the inhabitants, who could not find room on board the Venetian ships. 1669. He gave five hundred sequins to the burgher that presented him with the keys, and two hundred to the rest of the retinue. The Turks and Venetians visited one another like allied nations till the day of the embarkation.

Cuprogli, the conqueror of Candia, was one of the best generals in Europe, one of the greatest ministers, and at the same time a man just and humane. He acquired immortal glory in this long war, in which the Turks themselves acknowledged they had lost two hundred thousand men.

The Morosini's, (for there were four of that name in the besieged city) the Cornaro's, the Giustiniani's, the Benzoni's, the marquiss de St. Andrè Montbrun, the marquiss de Frontenac, rendered their names illustrious all over Europe. This siege has been justly compared to that of Troy. The grand vizir had a Greek with him, who merited the surname of Ulysses; he was called *Payanotos*. Prince Cantemir pretends,

that this Greek determined the council of Candia to capitulate, by a stratagem worthy of Ulysses. A French fleet, laden with provisions, was upon its way to Candia. Payanotos made a number of Turkish ships hoist French colours, and get out to sea by night; the next day they came into the road, where the Ottoman fleet lay at anchor, by whom they were received with shouts of joy. Payanotos, who was treating with the council of war at Candia, made them believe that the king of France had abandoned the republic, to oblige the Turks, his allies: and this stratagem forwarded the capitulation. Morosini, the captain-general, was accused before the senate of having betrayed his country. His defence was as strenuous as his impeachment. This is still an imitation of the antient republics of Greece, and especially of Rome. Morosini cleared himself afterwards by taking the Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, a conquest which the Venetians did not long enjoy. This great man died a doge, and left behind him a reputation likely to last as long as Venice.



C H A P. CLX.

Of Sabbatei-Sevi, who pretended to be the Messiah.

DURING the war of Candia there happened an affair among the Turks, that drew the attention of all Europe and Asia. A general rumour was spread at that time, founded on

on an idle curiosity, that the year 1666 was to be remarkable for some great revolution. The source of this opinion was the mystic number of 666, found in the book of Revelations. Never was the expectation of the antichrist so general. On the other hand the Jews pretended that their Messiah was to come this year.

A Smyrna Jew, named Sabbatei-Sevi, who was a man of some learning, and son of a rich broker belonging to the English factory, took advantage of this general opinion, and set up for the Messiah. He had a fluent tongue, and a graceful figure; he affected modesty, recommended justice, spoke like an oracle, and proclaimed, wherever he came, that the times were fulfilled. He travelled at first into Greece and Italy. At Leghorn he ran away with a girl, and carried her to Jerusalem, where he began to preach to his brethren. A disciple of his, named Nathan, offered to act the part of Elijah, whilst Sabbatei-Sevi played that of the Messiah. They both reformed the synagogue of Jerusalem. Nathan explained the prophecies, and demonstrated that at the expiration of that year the sultan must be dethroned, and Jerusalem become mistress of the world. All the Jews of Syria were convinced. The synagogues resounded with antient prophecies. They grounded themselves on these words of Isaiah: *Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion, put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.* The rabbies had the following passage in their mouths: *And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord, out of all na-*

tions upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem. In short, their hopes were fed by these and a thousand other passages, which both women and children were for ever repeating. There was not a Jew but prepared lodgings for some of the ten dispersed tribes. So great was their enthusiasm, that they left off trade every where, and held themselves ready for the voyage to Jerusalem.

Nathan chose twelve men at Damascus, to preside over the twelve tribes. Sabbatei-Sevi went to shew himself to his brethren at Smyrna, and Nathan wrote to him thus; *King of kings, Lord of lords, when shall we be worthy to put ourselves under the shadow of your as? I prostrate myself to be trod under the sole of your feet.* Sabbatei deposed some doctors of the law at Smyrna, who did not acknowledge his authority, and established others more tractable. One of his most violent enemies, named Samuel Pennia, was publicly converted, and proclaimed him to be the son of God. Sabbatei having presented himself one day before the cadi of Smyrna, with a multitude of his followers, they all declared they saw a column of fire betwixt him and the cadi. Some other miracles of this sort set his divine mission beyond all doubt. Numbers of Jews were impatient to lay their gold and their precious stones at his feet.

The bashaw of Smyrna would have arrested him; but he set out for Constantinople with his most zealous disciples. The grand vizir Achmet Cuprogli, who was getting ready for the siege of Candia, gave orders for him to be seized on board

board the vessel that brought him to Constantinople, and to be confined. The Jews easily obtained admittance into the prison for money, as is usual in Turkey; they went and prostrated themselves at his feet, and kissed his chains. He preached to them, exhorted them, and gave them his blessing, but never complained. The Jews of Constantinople, believing that the coming of the Messiah would cancel all debts, refused to pay their creditors. The English merchants at Galata waited upon Sabbatei in jail, and told him, that, as king of the Jews, he ought to command all his subjects to pay their debts. Sabbatei wrote the following words to the persons complained against: *To you, who expect the salvation of Jerusalem, &c. discharge your lawful debts; if you refuse it, you shall not enter with us into our joy, and into our empire.*

Sabbatei, during his imprisonment, was continually visited by his followers; who began to raise some disturbances in Constantinople. At that time the people were greatly dissatisfied with Mahomet IV; and it was apprehended that the Jewish prophecy might occasion some disturbance. Under these circumstances one would imagine, that such a severe government as that of the Turks would have put the person, calling himself *King of Israel*, to death. Yet they only removed him to the castle of the Dardanells. The Jews then cried out, that it was not in the power of man to take away his life.

His fame had reached even the most distant parts of Europe; at the Dardanells he received deputations from the Jews of Poland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, and Amsterdam: they paid

very dear for kissing his feet ; and probably this is what preserved his life. The distributions of the Holy Land were made very quietly in the tower of the Dardanells. At length the fame of his miracles was so great, that sultan Mahomet had the curiosity to see the man, and to examine him himself. The king of the Jews was brought to the seraglio. The sultan asked him in the Turkish language, *whether he was the Messiah*. Sabbatei modestly answered, *he was* ; but as he expressed himself incorrectly in this tongue ; *you speak very ill*, said Mahomet to him, *for a Messiah, who ought to have the gift of languages. Do you perform any miracles ?* Sometimes, answered the other. *Well then*, said the Sultan, *let him be stripped stark naked ; he will be a very good mark for the arrows of my Ichoglans **, and if he is invulnerable, we will acknowledge him to be the Messiah. Sabbatei flung himself upon his knees, and confessed it to be a miracle above his strength. It was proposed to him immediately, either to be impaled, or to turn Mussulman, and go publicly to the Turkish mosque. He did not hesitate in the least, but embraced the Turkish religion directly. Then he preached that he had been sent to substitute the Turkish to the Jewish religion, pursuant to the antient prophecies. Yet the Jews of distant countries believed in him a long time. The affair however was not attended with bloodshed, but increased the shame and confusion of the Jewish nation.

* Ichoglans are the grand Signior's pages, or white eunuchs, who serve in the seraglio. They are the children of Christians, and brought up in a very strict discipline.

Some time after the Jews had been thus disgraced in the Ottoman empire, the Christians of the Latin church underwent a great affront. They had hitherto kept possession of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, by means of monies received from the princes of their communion, and especially from the king of Spain. But this same Payanotos, who had concluded the treaty for surrendering Candia, obtained of the grand vizir, Achmet Cuprogli, that henceforward the Greek church should have care of all the holy places in Jerusalem. The religious of the Latin communion opposed this grant. The cause was tried before the *cadi* at Jerusalem, and afterwards before the great *divan* at Constantinople. It was determined that the Greek church having considered Jerusalem as within her jurisdiction before the time of the crusades, her pretension was well founded. The trouble the port took to examine into the rights of her Christian subjects, and her suffering them to exercise their religion on the very spot where first it had its rise, is a particular instance of lenity in that sanguinary government. When the Greeks wanted to take possession in virtue of the decree of the *divan*, the Latins opposed them by force, and there was some blood spilt. The government punished no body with death on this occasion; a further proof of the humanity of the vizir Achmet Cuprogli, whose example has seldom been imitated. One of his predecessors in 1638 ordered Cyril the Greek patriarch of Constantinople to be strangled, upon the repeated accusations of his own flock. The lenity or cruelty of the times, is every where determined by the character of those at the helm.

1674.

C H A P. CLXI.

Progress of the Turks. Siege of Vienna.

THE torrent of Ottoman power not only overspread Candia and the islands belonging to the Venetian republic; but oftentimes penetrated into Poland and Hungary. The same Mahomet IV, whose grand vizir had taken Candia, marched in person against the Poles, under pretence of protecting the Cossacks, whom they had treated very ill. He made himself master of the Ukraine, of Podolia, Volhinia, and the town of Kaminiek; and when he granted peace to the Poles, it was upon condition of their paying the annual tribute of twenty thousand crowns, a tribute from which they were soon released by John Sobieski.

1672.

The Turks had given no disturbance to Hungary, during the war of thirty years, which ravaged Germany. Ever since 1541 they had been masters of both the banks of the Danube, almost as far as Buda inclusively. The Persian conquests of Amurat IV prevented him from extending his arms towards Germany. Transylvania belonged to princes, with whom the emperors Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III, were obliged to keep fair, and who were tributary to the Turks. The remaining part of Hungary enjoyed its liberty. It was not so under the emperor Leopold: the upper Hungary and Transylvania were the theatre of revolutions, war and devastation.

Of all the nations reviewed in this history, none have been more unfortunate than the Hungarians.

garians. Their country, divided between the catholic and protestant religions, and torn by different parties, was at the same time ravaged and impoverished by Turkish and German armies. Ragotsky prince of Transylvania is said to have been the first cause of these misfortunes. He was tributary to the port; and upon refusing to pay the tribute, a Turkish army invaded his country. The emperor Leopold sent Montecuculi against the Turks, a general who was afterwards the rival of Turenne. Lewis XIV marched a body of six thousand men to the assistance of the emperor of Germany his natural enemy. They had a share in the famous battle of 1663. St. Gothard, where Montecuculi defeated the Turks. But notwithstanding this victory, the port concluded an advantageous peace, whereby 1664. she kept possession of Buda, Neuhausel, and Transylvania.

As soon as the Hungarians got rid of the Turks, they were for defending their rights and liberties against Leopold; but this emperor would allow of no rights except those of his crown. The kingdom was exposed to fresh disturbances. Emmerick Tekeli, a young Hungarian nobleman, eager to avenge the blood of his friends and relations, which had been spilt by the court of Vienna, excites a revolt in the part of Hungary, subject to the emperor. He went over to the Turks, and Mahomet IV declared him king of Upper Hungary. At that time the port had the bestowing of four crowns on Christian princes, namely Hungary, Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia.

The execution of the Hungarian lords of Tekeli's party, had like to have been attended with the loss of Austria and Vienna to Leopold and his family. The grand vizir Cara Mustapha, successor of Achmet Cuprogli, was commissioned by Mahomet IV. to attack the emperor of Germany, under the pretence of avenging Tekeli's cause. The sultan himself went to review his troops in the plains of Adrianople. Never did the Turks raise a more numerous army; it consisted of above a hundred and forty thousand men, regular troops, exclusive of thirty thousand Crim Tartars, the volunteers, the train of artillery, with sutlers, servants, and mechanics of every kind, all together amounting to three hundred thousand men. The whole kingdom of Hungary was ransacked to find provisions for such a multitude. There was nothing to retard the march of Cara Mustapha's army: he advanced without opposition to the gates of Vienna, and laid siege to that capital.

July
16,
1683.

Vienna was said to have a garrison of sixteen thousand men; but there were not above eight thousand regular troops. The governor count Staremberg armed the burghers, and the members of the university. The professors and scholars mounted guard, and had a physician for their major. The flight of the emperor Leopold added to the terror of the inhabitants. He left Vienna the 7th of July with his mother-in-law, his wife, and the whole Imperial family. Vienna being but indifferently fortified, was not able to hold out a long siege. The Turkish annals pretend that Cara Mustapha had a design, to erect Vienna and Hungary into an empire independent

dependent of the sultan. He had fancied to himself that the feat of the German emperors contained immense treasures; with this notion he carried on the siege but slowly, lest if the town was taken by storm, the soldiers would run away with the plunder. Hence it was that he never made a general assault, though there were considerable breaches in the body of the place; and the town was reduced to the last extremity. This mistake, and the effeminate behaviour of the grand vizir preserved Vienna, which was just ready to fall. He gave time to John Sobieski king of Poland to march to its relief, and to Charles V, duke of Lorraine, together with the princes of the empire, to muster up an army. The janizaries murmured; despair succeeded their indignation; and they cried out aloud; *Come on, infidels, as soon as we see your hats, we'll be sure to run away.*

Accordingly as soon as the king of Poland, and the duke of Lorraine, marched down from the mountain of Calemberg, the Turks fled precipi-^{Sept.}tately without fighting. Cara Mustapha, who^{12,} had flattered himself with the hopes of finding^{1683.} immense treasures, left all his baggage and effects in the hands of Sobieski; and soon after he was strangled. Tekeli, whom this vizir had raised to the regal dignity, being suspected by the Turks of treating under hand with the emperor of Germany, was arrested by order of the new vizir, and sent in chains to Constantinople.^{1685.} The Turks lost almost the whole kingdom of Hungary.

The remaining part of the reign of Mahomet IV, was famous only for unprosperous events.

1687. Morosini took the whole Peloponnesus, which was of more importance than Candia. In making this conquest the Venetian bombs destroyed several antient monuments which the Turks had spared, and among the rest the celebrated temple of Athens dedicated *to the unknown gods*. The janizaries attributing such a multitude of misfortunes to the indolence of the sultan, resolved to dethrone him. The Caimacan, governor of Constantinople, with Mustapha Cuprogli, superintendant of the Mosque of St. Sophia, and the Nakif, keeper of Mahomet's standard, went to acquaint the sultan, that he must resign the throne, for such was the will of the whole nation. The sultan parleyed a long time, endeavouring to justify himself. The Nakif replied that he was come to command him in the name of the people to abdicate the imperial dignity, and to resign it to his brother Soliman. Mahomet IV made answer; *God's will be done: since his wrath must fall on my head; go tell my brother that God declares his will by the mouth of the people.*

Most of our historians pretend that Mahomet IV was murdered by the janizaries; but it appears from the Turkish annals, that he lived five years longer, confined in the seraglio. The same Mustapha Cuprogli who deposed Mahomet IV, was grand vizir under Soliman III. He recovered part of Hungary, and restored the reputation of the Turkish arms. But since that time the limits of this empire have never gone beyond Belgrade or Temeswar. The sultans preserved Candia; but they did not recover the Peloponnesus till 1715. The famous battles which

which prince Eugene won of the Turks, are a proof that they may be-beaten, without being conquered.

Though this government be represented so arbitrary and despotic, yet it seems to have never deserved this character, except under Mahomet II, Soliman, and Selim, who made every thing bend to their will. But under most of the other emperors, and especially of late times, we shall find that the government was much the same at Constantinople, as at Algiers and Tunis. In 1703 Mustapha II was solemnly deposed by the army and by the inhabitants of Constantinople. They did not chuse any of his children to succeed him, but his brother Achmet III. This same sultan Achmet was ordered by the janizaries and the people in 1730, to resign the throne to his nephew Mahmoud: he obeyed without resistance, after having sacrificed his grand vizir and his principal officers in vain, to the resentment of the nation. Are these the absolute sovereigns? People imagine that a man reigns without controul, over a great part of the globe, because he may commit some crimes with impunity in his own family, and command a few slaves to be murdered: but he cannot trample his people under foot; nay they oftener oppress him, than he them.

The manners of the Turks form an extraordinary contrast: they are fierce, and yet charitable; interested, yet hardly ever guilty of theft; indolent, without being inclined to gaming or intemperance; very few make use of the privilege of polygamy, or of enjoying different slaves; and there is no great city in Europe, where there
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are less common women than at Constantinople. Inviolably attached to their religion, they hate and despise the Christians, whom they look upon as idolaters; yet they tolerate and protect them throughout their empire, and in their capital; they permit them to make processions in the part of the town assigned them in Constantinople, and four janizaries walk before those processions. They are proud; yet they have no nobility; they are brave, though they are strangers to duelling: a virtue which they have in common with all the Asiatic nations, from their custom of never wearing arms, but when they take the field. This was likewise the practice of the Greeks and Romans. The contrary usage was not introduced among Christians till the times of barbarism and chivalry, when it was made a point of duty and honour to walk on foot with boots and spurs, and to sit down to table or to pray to God with a long sword by one's side. The Christian nobility distinguished themselves by this custom; which was soon imitated, as we have already observed, by the dregs of the people, and may be ranked among those subjects of ridicule which pass unobserved, because we see them daily.



C H A P. CLXII.

Of Persia, and its manners; of the last revolution; and of Thamas Kouli-Kan, or Schah-Nadir.

PERSIA at that time was more civilized than Turkey: the manners of the people were gentler; the arts were in greater esteem;

esteem; and the general police was better observed. This was not merely owing to the climate; the Arabs had cultivated the arts in this country for the space of five centuries. It was the Arabs that built Ispahan, Chiras, Casbin, Cashan, and several other great cities: on the contrary the Turks built none, but let a great many fall to ruin. The Tartars subdued Persia twice after the reign of the Arabian Caliphs; but they did not abolish the arts: and the Sophis upon their accession to the throne, introduced the gentle manners of Armenia, where their family had been long settled. All manufactures were reckoned to be more completely finished in Persia, than in Turkey. The sciences met also with greater encouragement: there was not a city that had not several colleges for the teaching of polite literature. The Persian language more soft and harmonious than the Turkish, has produced a great number of agreeable poems. The antient Greeks, the first preceptors of Europe, rank in the same light in regard to the Persians. Hence philosophy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was pretty near in the same state in Persia as with us. Their astronomy is the growth of their own country, and they applied themselves to it more than any people upon earth, as we have already taken notice. The custom of marking the lucky days in white, and the unlucky in black, they still most exactly observe. This was a very common practice among the Romans, who borrowed it of the Asiatic nations. Our peasants have less faith in the days fit for sowing and planting, which are mentioned in the almanacks, than the courtiers

tiers of Isaphan had in the hours favourable, or unfavourable to business. The Persians were like the people of our part of the world, a sensible nation, but full of prejudices. Some travellers assure us that this country was not so populous as it might be made. Very likely at the time of the Magi it was more populous and fruitful. Agriculture was then a point of religion. Of all professions this requireth the greatest number of hands: and as it renders mankind sound and robust, it contributes more than any other business to the procreation and maintenance of a numerous offspring.

Isaphan however, before the late revolutions, was as large and as populous as London. They reckoned above five hundred thousand inhabitants in Tauris. Cashan was compared to Lyons. It is impossible a town should be populous, if the country be not so too; unless this town subsists intirely by foreign commerce. We have but very imperfect ideas of the number of inhabitants in Turkey, Persia, and all the empires of Asia, except China: but it is beyond all doubt, that whenever a civilized nation hath great armies on foot, and numerous manufactures, it must contain a sufficient number of inhabitants.

The court of Isaphan was more magnificent than that of Constantinople. We imagine ourselves reading a relation of Xerxes's reign, when we see in the accounts of travellers, the number of horses covered with rich brocades, their harnesses glittering with gold and precious stones, and those four thousand vases of gold, mentioned by Chardin, for the use of the king of Persia's table. Common things in life, and especially
eatables,

eatables, were a great deal cheaper in Ispahan and Constantinople, than they are with us. Cheapness is a demonstration of plenty. Such travellers, as Chardin, who are acquainted with the government of Persia, do not pretend, that all the landed estates belong to the king. They own that in this, as in every other country, there are royal demesnes with church lands, and estates of private people, possessed in full property, by right of inheritance.

Upon the whole, the accounts we have of Persia, give us reason to think, that there was no monarchy upon earth, where the people more fully enjoyed the rights of humanity. No nation in the eastern parts of the world, had such numerous resources against that bane of life, the lassitude of mind. They met in spacious coffee houses, where some were employed in sipping this liquor, which was not introduced into Europe till towards the end of the seventeenth century; others amused themselves with reading, or listening to story-tellers; while at one end of the room an ecclesiastic preached for money; and at the other, jugglers or such fellows, who live by diverting the public, exhibited their tricks. This shews them to be a sociable nation, and we find by all accounts that they deserved to be happy. They were so, it is said, under Schah-Abbas, surnamed the Great. This pretended great prince was very cruel: but there are instances of cruel persons, who have been fond of order and the public good. The tyrant exercises his cruelty only upon a few individuals, who have access to his person; yet at the same time he may
enact

enact good laws, by which he promotes the general welfare of his country.

Schah-Abbas, a descendant of Ismael Sophi, became despotic, by suppressing a standing force, like that of the janizaries, or the pretorian guards. Thus it was that Peter the Great established his power by abolishing the Strelits*. The history of all countries shews us, that the dividing of troops into small bodies cements the throne; while uniting them into one compact body tends to weaken and subvert it. Schah-Abbas transported people from one country to another; which the Turks never did. These colonies seldom succeed. Out of thirty thousand Christian families, which Schah-Abbas removed from Armenia and Georgia, to Mazanderan on the Caspian sea, there are not above four or five hundred left. But he erected public edifices, rebuilt towns, and made useful foundations. He recovered the provinces which Solyman and Selim had taken from the Persians; and he drove the Portuguese from Ormus. By these exploits he obtained the title of Great; and died in 1624. His son Schah-Sophi, more cruel, but less the soldier and politician than his father, gave himself up to debauch; and his reign was unfortunate. Scha Gean, the great Mogul, wrested Candahar from Persia, and the Sultan Amurath took Bagdat by storm in 1638.

Ever since that time the Persian monarchy has been upon the decline, till at length the volup-

* The Strelits or Strelitfes were a militia among the Russians, something like the Janizaries among the Turks; they were a very formidable body, but Peter I, suppressed them in 1683.

tuousness,

tuousness of the dynasty of the Sophis entirely ruined it. The eunuchs governed the seraglio and the empire, under Muza-Sophi, and Schah-Hussein, the last of this family. It is the utmost disgrace to human nature, and the scandal of the East, to deprive men of their virility; but to entrust the government to the hands of those wretches, is the last stretch of despotism. Wherever their power has been excessive, impotency and ruin have ensued.

The weakness of Schah-Hussein had so enervated the empire, and the factions of the black and white eunuchs had occasioned such violent disturbances, that if Myriweis and his Afghans had not destroyed this family, it would have perished of itself. It is the fate of Persia that all her dynasties begin with force, and end in weakness. Almost all the different races of their sovereigns have had the fate of Serdan-Pull, whom we call Sardanapalus. Those Afghans, who subverted the Persian throne at the beginning of the present century, were an ancient colony of Tartars, inhabiting the mountains of Candahar between India and Persia. Almost every revolution which hath changed the face of those countries, has been owing to the Tartars. The Persians had recovered Candahar from the Mogul towards the year 1650, under Schah-Abbas; and this was their misfortune. The ministry under Schah-Hussein, grandson of Schah-Abbas II, used the Afghans ill: upon which Myriweis, who was only a private person, but of a daring spirit, becomes their leader.

This is one of those revolutions, in which the character of the people had a greater share, than
that

that of their chiefs: for Myriweis having been assassinated by his own nephew Maghmud, who took upon him the command of the army, when he was but eighteen years of age, there was no likelihood that this young man could make any great progress of himself, or that he could lead those undisciplined and wild mountaineers, in the same manner as our European generals conduct regular armies. Hussein's government was grown contemptible, and the province of Candahar having begun the troubles, the provinces of mount Caucasus on the side of Georgia followed the example. At length Maghmud laid siege to Ispahan in 1722. Upon which Schah-Hussein delivered up his capital to him, laid his crown at his feet, and acknowledged him for his sovereign, thinking himself very happy that Maghmud would vouchsafe to marry his daughter.

Among all the scenes of cruelty and misery, that we have been viewing since the time of Charlemain, there is none more shocking than that which followed the revolution of Ispahan. Maghmud thought he could never secure the throne, but by massacring the principal families. Persia has been for these thirty years what Germany was before the peace of Westphalia, what France was at the time of Charles VI, or England during the wars of the white and red roses. But Persia hath fallen from a more flourishing state to a lower degree of misery.

Religion had a share in this devastation. The Afghans followed the doctrine of Omar, and the Persians that of Ali. This Maghmud, chief of the Afghans, mixed the most ridiculous superstition

stitution with the most detestable cruelty. He died raving mad in 1725, after laying Persia waste. To him succeeded a new usurper of the Afghan nation, whose name was Asraf. The misery of Persia increased on every side. The Turks poured in from Georgia, the ancient Colchis. The Russians fell upon the northern provinces to the west of the Caspian sea, towards the gates of Derbent in Shirvan, the ancient Iberia and Albania. Amidst these commotions, they do not tell us what became of the dethroned king Schah-Hussein. This prince is known only by the epocha of his country's ruin.

One of this emperor's sons, named Thamas, having escaped the massacre of the Imperial family, was followed by some faithful subjects, who flocked about his person in the neighbourhood of Tauris. Civil wars and national calamities are productive of extraordinary men, who would never perhaps have been heard of in peaceful times. A shepherd's son became the protector of prince Thamas, and the support of a throne which he afterwards usurped. This man, who ranks among the greatest conquerors, was named Nadir. He kept his father's sheep in the plains of Khorassan, part of the ancient Hyrcania and Bactriana. We must not imagine those shepherds to be like ours. The pastoral life, which still subsists in many parts of Asia, is not inconsistent with wealth: the tents of those rich shepherds are far more valuable than the houses of our farmers. Nadir sold several of his father's flocks, and put himself at the head of a gang of banditti, a practice very common in those parts, where the people have preserved the manners of antiquity. He surren-
dered

dered himself and his men to prince Thamas ; and by his ambition, courage, and activity, he rose to have the command of the army. He then took the name of *Thamas Kouli-Kan ; the kan, slave to Thamas*. But the slave was master under a weak voluptuous prince, like his father Hufsein. He recovered Ispahan and all Persia, pursued the new king Afras as far as Candahar, where he
1729. defeated his army, took him prisoner, and ordered him to be beheaded after plucking out his eyes.

Kouli-Kan having thus restored prince Thamas to the throne of his ancestors, resolved to prevent his being ungrateful. He confined him in the capital of Khorassan ; and being fully sensible, that he could never preserve his power but by the same means, by which it was acquired, he turns his arms against the Ottoman empire. He defeated the Turks at Erivan, recovered all that country, and secured his conquests by making peace with the Russians. Then it was that he caused himself to be declared king of Persia by the name of Schah-Nadir. He did not forget the ancient custom of pulling out the eyes of those who have a right to the throne. This cruelty he practised upon his own sovereign Thamas. The same armies which had helped to lay Persia waste, contributed also to render him formidable to his neighbours. He gained several victories over the Turks ; with whom at length he concluded an honourable peace, by which they restored all that they had ever taken from Persia, except Bagdat and its territory.

Kouli-Kan loaded with crimes and with glory, marched afterwards to the conquest of India, as
we

we shall see in the next chapter on the Mogul. At his return to Persia, he found a party formed in favour of the surviving princes of the royal family; and in the midst of those commotions he was assassinated by his own nephew, like Myrweis the first author of the revolution. Persia then became once more the seat of civil war. Such a series of devastations hath put a stop to commerce and the arts, by destroying part of the inhabitants; but where the soil is fruitful, and the people industrious, the country will recover itself in time.



C H A P. CLXIII.

Of the Mogul.

THIS prodigious variety of manners, customs, laws, and revolutions, all derived from the same principle of interest, constitutes the historical map of the universe. We have beheld no rebellion of son against father, either in Persia or Turkey. But in India we find the two sons of the grand Mogul at war with him successively, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. One of those princes, named Schah-Gean, takes possession of the Imperial crown in 1627, upon the death of his father Gean-Guir, in prejudice to a grandson, to whom Gean-Guir had bequeathed the throne. The order of succession was not an established law in Asia, as among the European nations.

nations. Hence those people had one source of misery more than we.

Schah-Gean, who had rebelled against his father, lived to see his own sons follow his example. It is difficult to comprehend how sovereigns, who could not hinder their own children from taking up arms, should be so absolute as some would make us believe. India seems to have been nearly under the same kind of government, as that of the European kingdoms at the time of the feudal tenures. The governors of the provinces of Indostan were absolute in their several districts; and viceroalties were conferred on the emperor's sons. This, without doubt, was a perpetual source of civil war; so that as soon as the health of the emperor Schah-Gean began to decline, his four sons, each of whom had the command of a province, took up arms to dispute the succession. They agreed to dethrone their father, and afterwards went to war with one another: this was exactly the case of *Lewis the debonair*, or the *weak*. Aurengzeb, the most wicked of the four brothers, proved the most fortunate.

The same hypocrisy as that which we observed in Cromwell, the same dissimulation and cruelty, with a more unnatural disposition, formed the characteristic of this prince. He entered into a conspiracy at first with one of his brothers, and made himself master of his father's person, whom he kept close confined: the next thing he did was to murder that same brother, whom he had made use of as a tool, though now he thought him too dangerous to live: then he falls upon his other two brothers, whom he overpowers, and strangles successively in prison.

Yet

Yet Aurengzeb's father was still living; though detained by his son in close confinement. The name of the old emperor having served often as a pretext to conspiracies, the tyrant sent a physician to him at a time when he was slightly indisposed, and the old man died. It was believed all over Asia that Aurengzeb had poisoned his father. Never was there a stronger instance, that happiness is not the reward of virtue. Though stained with the blood of his brothers, and guilty of the murder of his father, Aurengzeb succeeded in all his undertakings. He lived till 1707, aged about a hundred and three. Never had prince so long a series of prosperity. He increased the empire of the moguls with the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda, with the whole country of Carnate, and almost the intire peninsula terminated by the coast of Coromandel and Malabar. This man, who would have died by the hands of an executioner, could he have been tried by the customary laws of nations, was, beyond all dispute, the most potent prince in the universe. The magnificence of the kings of Persia, as dazzling as it has appeared to our eyes, was but a trifle, when compared to the riches of Aurengzeb.

The Asiatic princes have at all times been remarkable for treasures; these consist of their own hoards; but the European princes are rich with the money that circulates among their subjects. Tamerlane's treasure was still preserved, and his successors had added to the heap. The increase under Aurengzeb was immense: one of his thrones only was estimated by Tavernier at a hundred and sixty millions of livres in his time, which is above three hundred at present. Twelve

columns of massy gold, which supported the canopy of the throne, were covered with large pearls: the canopy was also of pearls and diamonds, mounted by a peacock with a tail of precious stones: every thing else was proportioned to this astonishing magnificence. The greatest solemnity in the year was when the emperor used to be weighed in golden scales, before all the people; on which occasion he received above fifty millions of livres in presents.

If there be any such thing as influence of climate, it is surely in India; the mogul emperors introduced the same luxury, and lived in the same voluptuousness and ease, as the Indian kings mentioned by Quintus Curtius: the Tartar conquerors insensibly fell into the same manners, and became Indians.

This excessive opulence and luxury did but contribute to the miseries of India. The same thing happened in 1739 to the grandson of Aurengzeb, Mahamad-Schah, as to Croesus. This king of Lydia had been told, *You have a great quantity of gold; but he that will make a better use of iron than you, will strip you of it all.*

Thamas Kouli-Kan, having raised himself to the throne of Persia, after dethroning his master, conquering the Afghans, and taking Candahar, marched to the capital of India, in order to strip the mogul of those treasures, of which he had robbed his subjects. There is hardly an instance in history of a more numerous army than that which the great mogul Mahamad raised against Thamas Kouli-Kan; nor of a weaker defence. He had twelve hundred thousand men, ten thousand pieces of cannon, and

and two thousand elephants armed for war, to oppose the conqueror of Persia, who had only sixty thousand combatants. Darius did not march such large armies against Alexander.

It is likewise added, that this multitude of Indians were covered by intrenchments of six leagues in extent, where they expected to be attacked by Thamas Kouli-Kan. This was being sensible of their weakness. So immense an army ought to have surrounded the enemy, to have cut off their communication, and starved them out in a strange country. So far from that, it was the little army that besieged the great one, that cut off their provisions, and that destroyed them in detail. It seemed as if the great mogul Mahamad came only to expose his vanity, and to yield homage to a gang of disciplined banditti. He made his submission in the presence of Thamas Kouli-Kan, who spoke to him in the tone of a sovereign. The conqueror marched to Deli, a city said to be larger and more populous than Paris or London. He dragged this rich and miserable emperor in his train; and, after confining him to a tower, he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor of India.

Some of the mogul's officers had seized on the opportunity of a night, when the Persians were indulging themselves in debauch, to take up arms against their conqueror. In revenge Thamas Kouli-Kan delivered up the town to be pillaged and destroyed. He carried away more treasures from Deli, than the Spaniards took at the conquest of Mexico. This treasure, having been hoarded by plunderers during four centuries, was conveyed into Persia by another plunderer: yet

the Persians have reaped no benefit from it, but have been long the most wretched people upon the face of the earth : the treasure lies buried during the civil wars ; perhaps some tyrant will dig it up again.

Kouli-Kan, setting out from India upon his return to Persia, had the vanity to leave the name of emperor to this Mahamad-Schah whom he had dethroned : but he committed the government to a viceroy, who had educated the grand mogul, and who afterwards rendered himself independent. He detached three kingdoms from this vast empire ; Cachemire, Caboul, and Multan, to be incorporated with Persia ; and he imposed a tribute of some millions on Indostan.

This country was at that time governed by a viceroy and council of Thamas Kouli-Kan's appointing. The grandson of Aurengzeb retained the title of king of kings, and sovereign of the world, while he was no more than a phantom. But every thing reverted to its natural order, after Kouli-Kan was murdered in Persia, in the midst of his triumphs : the mogul ceased to pay tribute ; and the provinces, wrested by the Persian conqueror, were restored to the empire.

We are not to imagine that this Mahamad, king of kings, was despotic before his misfortunes : Aurengzeb, it is true, had been such, but it was by his excessive vigilance, by his victories, by his cruelties. Despotism is a violent state, which does not seem to have any durability. It is impossible that viceroys, who have armies of twenty thousand men, should long submit to arbitrary power. The lands which the emperor bestows on those viceroys, are by that very act independent of him. Let us not therefore imagine,

gine, that in India the product of every man's labour belongs only to the sovereign. Several Indian tribes have preserved their ancient possessions. The other lands have been given to the grandees of the empire, to the rajas *, to the nabobs †, to the omras ‡. Those lands are cultivated, as in other places, by wealthy farmers, and not by slaves that work only for their masters. The common people are poor in the opulent country of India, as they are generally in all parts of the globe: but they are not slaves, or annexed to the glebe, as they were formerly in our part of Europe, and as they are still in Poland, Bohemia, and several provinces of Germany. The peasant throughout Asia may quit his country when he is dissatisfied, and go in search of a better, if it is to be found.

We may observe of India in general, that it is governed, like a conquered country, by thirty tyrants, who acknowledge an emperor sunk, like themselves, into effeminacy and ease, and who devour the substance of the people. The Indians have none of those great courts, the permanent depositaries of laws, which protect the weak against the strong.

It is a problem which at first sight appears difficult to solve, that the gold and silver imported from America into Europe, should be continually swallowed up in India, never to return; and yet that the common people should be so poor as to work almost for nothing. But the reason is, this

* The Indian black princes, the remains of those who ruled there before the mogul.

† A viceroy of one of the provinces of the mogul's empire.

‡ Lords of the court of the great mogul; also great lords in the kingdom of Golconda.

money does not go among the common people, but among the merchants ; these pay immense duties to the governors, who give great part of it to the grand mogul, and bury the rest. The price of labour is less in India, though the richest country upon earth, than any where else ; because into whatever part of the world you go, you will find that a labourer's daily hire seldom exceeds his food and rayment. Now it is owing to the extreme fertility of the soil, and the heat of the climate, that this food and rayment are so vastly cheap in India. The labourer who digs for diamonds in the mines, earns enough to buy a little rice, and a cotton shirt. The poor all over the world sell their service for a trifle to the rich.

I shall wave repeating what hath been already said of the idolaters, who are very numerous in India : their superstitions are the same as in Alexander's time ; the bramins teach the same religion ; the women throw themselves upon the funeral piles, which are lighted to burn the dead bodies of their husbands ; of this our travellers, and our merchants, have seen many instances. Some make it a point of honour to kill themselves upon the death of those of whom they have received instruction. Tavernier relates, that he was witness himself in Agra, one of the chief cities in India, when a great bramin happening to die, a merchant, who had studied under him, came to the Dutch factory, to settle his accounts, and told them, that he was resolved to follow his master to the other world ; and accordingly he starved himself to death, in spite of all they could do and say, to persuade him to live.

One thing worthy of observation is, that the
arts

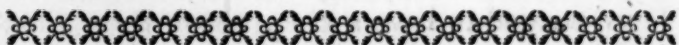
arts scarce ever depart from families where once they have been cultivated. The daughter of an artisan will never marry an husband who is not of the same trade as her father; this is a very antient custom in Asia, and had been heretofore a law in Egypt.

Polygamy in Asia and Africa is not a privilege that poor people can always make use of; the rich have ever reckoned women a part of their property, and taken eunuchs to watch them; this custom has obtained time immemorial in India, and indeed throughout Asia. When the Jews wanted to have a king, above three thousand years ago, Samuel, their magistrate and high-priest, who opposed the establishment of royalty, represented to the nation that a king would levy taxes on them to pay his eunuchs. Mankind must have been inured to servitude, when such a custom did not appear extraordinary.

While we were finishing this chapter, a new revolution has subverted the government of India. The tributary princes, or the viceroys, have all thrown off the yoke. The people of the inland parts have dethroned the sovereign. India is now like Persia, the theatre of civil war. These calamities are a proof that the government was very bad, and, at the same time, that this pretended despotism is a chimera. The emperor had not power sufficient to enforce obedience from a single raya.

Travellers imagine that the mogul is essentially invested with arbitrary power, because Aurengzeb made every thing yield to his will. But they did not consider, that this power, being intirely founded on force, lasts no longer than a prince is at the head of an army; and that this

despotism, which destroys every thing, is at length self-destroyed. It is not a form of government, but a subversion of all government: it admits of caprice as the only rule: it does not rely upon laws to secure its duration: therefore the colossus tumbles down to the ground, when it ceases to lift up its arm: out of its ruins several petty tyrants arise; and the state does not resume a settled form till it is governed by laws.



C H A P. CLXIV.

Of China in the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth.

IT is needless, without doubt, to know, that in the Chinese dynasty, subsequent to that of the Tartars of Jinghiz-chan, the emperor *Quancum* succeeded *Kincum*, and *Kincum* succeeded *Quancum*. It is proper these names should be in chronological tables; but, for our part, fixing our attention to events and manners, we skip over these empty spaces, to get to the times signalized by great transactions. The same effeminacy which ruined Persia and India, produced a revolution in China in the last century, more complete than that of Jinghiz-chan and his grandsons. The Chinese empire was much happier at the beginning of the seventeenth century, than India, Persia, or Turkey. Mankind cannot possibly frame a better government than where every thing is decided by great tribunals, subordinate

subordinate to each other, the members of which are not admitted till after severe examination. By these tribunals every thing is determined. Six sovereign courts direct all the rest of the empire. The first watches over the mandarins of the provinces; the second directs the finances; the third has the superintendence of religious rites, sciences, and arts; the fourth has the management of war; the fifth presides over the courts of judicature; the sixth takes care of all public works. The result of the several decisions is carried to a supreme tribunal. Under these there are forty-four subaltern courts, that reside at Pekin. Each mandarin in his province, or town, is assisted by a tribunal. In such a government, it is impossible the emperor should exercise any arbitrary power. The general laws flow from him: but, according to the constitution, he can do nothing without taking previous advice of persons educated in the study of the laws, who are elected by votes. And though they may prostrate themselves before him, as God; though the least disrespect to his person may be punished as a sacrilege, yet this is no proof of a despotic government. A despotic government would be that, wherein the prince might, consistently with law, strip a private citizen of his property, or life, without form of justice, or any other reason than his will. Now if ever there was a government, where the life, honour, and estate of the subject are secured, it is that of China. The more numerous the depositaries of the law, the less arbitrary is the administration; and if the sovereign sometimes abuseth his power against the few who venture to come near him, he cannot abuse it against the multitude.

titude who know him not, and who live under the protection of the laws.

Their improvement of agriculture, far beyond any thing we have seen in Europe, is a demonstration that the people do not groan under those taxes, which lye so heavy on the husbandman ; and the great number of persons employed in diverting the public, shews that the towns were as flourishing, as the country was fruitful. In every city throughout the empire, public spectacles were exhibited on festivals. They did not go to the play-houses, they made the players come to them ; they delighted in theatrical entertainments, without being perfect in the drama ; for the Chinese have perfected no polite art or science, except morality : but their enjoyments were proportioned to their knowledge : in short, they were happy, as far as human nature is capable of happiness.

This desirable state was followed by a most terrible catastrophe, or general desolation, towards the year 1630. The family of the Tartar princes, descendants of Jinghiz-chan, followed the example of all conquerors ; they weakened the conquering nation, to the end that their successors might have no occasion to fear another revolution on the conquered throne. This dynasty of Ivan having been at length dispossessed by that of Ming, the Tartars north of the great wall were looked upon as savages, from whom there was nothing either to expect or to fear. Beyond the great wall is the kingdom of Leaotong, incorporated by the family of Jinghiz-chan with the empire of China. To the north-east of Leaotong, were some hords of Mant-chou

chou Tartars, whom the viceroy of Leaotong treated with severity. They made bold remonstrances, such as the Scythians are said in all times to have made since the invasion of Cyrus; for the spirit of a people is ever the same, unless it be subdued by long oppression. All the answer the governor returned, was to burn their cottages, to carry off their flocks, and to order the inhabitants to be transplanted. Upon which, those Tartars, who were free, elected a chief to lead them to war. This chief, whose name was Taitfou, soon rose to be king; he beat the Chinese, entered victorious into Leaotong, and took the capital by storm. 1622.

This war was conducted like those of the most distant times. They were strangers to fire-arms in that part of the world. The antient arms, as the bow, the spear, the club, the scimitar, were those in use: they had but very little knowledge of shields and helmets, much less of metal * brasselets and buskins. Their fortifications consisted of a ditch, a wall, and towers: their way was either to undermine, or scale the wall. Strength of body was what determined the victory: and the Tartars, accustomed to lie in the open fields, must naturally have the advantage over a people used to a more delicate life.

Taitfou, the first chief of the Tartar hords happening to die in 1626, at the beginning of his conquests; his son Taitfong immediately assumed the title of emperor of the Tartars, and put himself upon a level with the emperor of China. It is said that he knew how to read and write: it appears moreover that, like the Chinese literati, he acknowledged but one God; whom

* A piece of armour for the arm.

he called *Tien* as they did. He expresses himself thus in a circular letter to the magistrates of the Chinese provinces: *Tien raiseth whomsoever he pleaseth; perhaps he hath chosen me for your master.* And indeed, from the year 1628, *Tien* crowned him constantly with victory. *Taitfong* was a very able prince; he civilized his people in order to teach them obedience, and he established laws in the midst of war. He was always at the head of his troops; while the emperor of China, named *Hoaitfang*, but who is almost forgot, remained in his palace with his women and his eunuchs. This was the last emperor of the Chinese race; he could not hinder *Taitfong* and the Tartars from stripping him of his northern provinces; nor a rebel mandarin, whose name was *Liftching*, from usurping those to the south. While the Tartars were ravaging the eastern and northern parts of China, this *Liftching* made himself master of all the rest. It is pretended that he had six hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. He appeared with the flower of his troops before the gates of *Pekin*: but the emperor never stirred out of his palace; he was even ignorant of what was transacting. *Liftching* the rebel (so he is called, because he did not succeed) sent back to the emperor two of his chief eunuchs, whom he had taken prisoners, with a very concise letter, advising him to abdicate the throne.

Here we see the nature of Asiatic pride, and how consistent it is with effeminacy. The emperor ordered the two eunuchs to be beheaded, for bringing him so disrespectful a letter. They had a good deal of difficulty to make him sen-
sible

sible that the princes of the blood, and a multitude of mandarins whom Listching had in his power, must answer with their heads for those of the two eunuchs.

While the emperor was debating what answer to give, Listching entered Peking. The empress had just time to send away some of her sons; then she locked her chamber-door, and hanged herself. The emperor flew thither immediately, and greatly approving this mark of fidelity, he exhorted forty more of his wives to follow the example. Father Mailla the Jesuit, who wrote this history at Peking, in the last century, pretends that all those women obeyed without the least reply; but perhaps some of them required assistance. The emperor, whom he represents as a very good natured prince, happens to see, after this execution, his only daughter, who was but fifteen years of age, and whom the empress had not thought proper to send out of the palace: he exhorts her to hang herself after the example of her mother and her mothers-in-law; but the princess not chusing to comply, this good natured prince, as Mailla calls him, gave her a terrible cut with his sabre, which laid her prostrate. One would expect that such a father, and such a husband, would instantly kill himself upon the dead bodies of his wives and his daughter; but he retired to a pavilion out of town, there to wait for the event: hearing at length that all was lost, and that Listching had taken possession of his palace, he strangled himself, thus putting an end to his empire and to a life, which he had not the courage to defend. This extraordinary revolution happened in the year 1641. It was in the reign of
this

this last emperor of the Chinese race, that the Jesuits at length insinuated themselves into the court of Pekin. Father Adam Schall, a native of Cologne, had ingratiated himself so far with this emperor by his knowledge in natural philosophy and the mathematics, that he was made a mandarin. He was the first that cast brass cannon in China; but the few pieces they had at Pekin, and which they knew not how to use, did not save the empire. Schall the mandarin left Pekin before the revolution.

After the emperor's decease, the Tartars and rebels disputed who should be masters. The Tartars were united and trained up to war; the Chinese divided and undisciplined. By degrees the latter were obliged to give way to the former, who had acquired a superiority independent of the conduct of their leader. It was with them as with Mahomet's Arabians, who were so formidable of themselves for above three hundred years.

The death of the emperor Taitfong, whom the Tartars lost at that same time, did not hinder them from pursuing their conquests. They chose one of his nephews, who was yet an infant: this was Changti father of the celebrated Camg-hi, under whom the Christian religion made some progress in China. These people, who had taken up arms to defend their liberties, had no notion of hereditary right. We find that all nations began with electing chiefs to lead them to battle; and those chiefs in time grew to be absolute, except in a few parts of Europe. Thus hereditary right was established, and became sacred in process of time.

A minority proves generally the ruin of conquerors; yet it was under this minority of Changti that the Tartars completed the reduction of China. The rebel Listching was slain by another Chinese usurper, who pretended to avenge the death of Hoaitfang. In several provinces they proclaimed the real or pretended sons of the last prince, who had been dethroned and strangled; just as they set up the different Demetrius's in Russia. Some of the Chinese mandarins endeavoured to usurp a few provinces; but the great Tartar usurpers got the better at length of all the small ones. A Chinese general for some time retarded their progress, because he had a few cannon, either from the Portuguese of Macao, or cast by Schall the Jesuit. It is very extraordinary that the Tartars, only with bows and arrows, should prevail against those who had artillery to defend them: this was the reverse of what happened in America, and shews the superior genius of northern over southern nations.

It is more surprizing, that the Tartars should conquer this vast empire, step by step, under two minorities; for their young emperor Changti happening to die in 1661 in his 24th year, before his empire was thoroughly settled, they chose his son Cam-hi, an infant eight years old, the age at which his father had been chosen. This Cam-hi established the Chinese empire, by his great prudence, and was so fortunate as to be equally respected both by the Tartars and the Chinese. The missionaries, whom he raised to the dignity of mandarins, commend him as the model of a perfect prince.

Some

Some travellers, and especially Le Gentil, who were not mandarins, say that he was not only fordid and avaricious, but extremely whimsical: these personal reflexions however do not belong to this general view of the world; it is sufficient that the empire was happy under this prince; and this is the criterion by which we are to judge of kings.

During this revolution, which lasted above thirty years, one of the greatest mortifications the Chinese underwent, was that their conquerors obliged them to cut off their hair, after the manner of the Tartars. There were some who preferred death to this compliance. We have beheld insurrections in Muscovy, when Peter the great obliged them to cut off their beards; such is the power of custom over the vulgar.

Time hath not yet confounded the conquerors with the conquered; as in France, England, and other countries. But since the Tartars have adopted the laws, customs, and religion of the Chinese, the two nations will soon coalesce.

In this Cam-hi's reign the European missionaries enjoyed great privileges: many of them were lodged in the imperial palace; they built churches, and had rich houses. They succeeded in America by instructing savages in the necessary arts; and in China by teaching a sensible people the sublimer studies. But jealousy soon destroyed the fruit of their wisdom; and that spirit of inquietude and contention, which is ever the concomitant of knowledge and abilities among the Europeans, defeated their noblest designs.

The Chinese were surprized to see foreign sages, who could not agree even in regard to what they were come to teach, who persecuted and anathematized one another, who had entered into mutual prosecutions at Rome*, and who made a congregation of cardinals decide, whether the emperor of China understood his own language as well as the Italian and French missionaries.

These disputes were caried so high, that the Chinese were afraid, or pretended to be afraid, of the same disturbances as had happened in Japan. Cam-hi's successor suppressed the exercise of the Christian religion; while the Mahometans, and the different sorts of bonzes were tolerated. But this same court being as sensible of the want of mathematics, as of the pretended danger from a new religion, kept the mathematicians, and silenced the missionaries.

A memorable event in this empire, was the great earthquake in 1699, under the emperor Cam-hi; a phenomenon more fatal than that which overturned Lima and Lisbon in our days: about four hundred thousand people are said to have been destroyed. These concussions must often happen to our globe. From the number of volcanos that vomit smoke and fire, one would think that the outward shell of the earth rests on vast caverns, and that it is full of inflammable matter. In all probability this globe of ours hath undergone as many physical revolutions, as avarice and ambition hath occasioned moral ones among mankind.

* See in the *Oeuvres mêlées* the chapter of *Ceremonies*, concerning the customs of the Chinese.

C H A P. CLXV.

Of Japan in the seventeenth century.

AMIDST the multitude of revolutions which we have beheld from one extremity of the earth to the other, there seems to be a fatal concatenation of causes, that impel mankind just as the winds impel the sands and waves of the sea. This is farther confirmed by what passed in Japan. In the sixteenth century a Portuguese prince, neither famed for power, nor riches, takes it into his head to send a few ships to the coasts of Africa. Soon after the Portuguese discover Japan. The Spaniards having attained the sovereignty of Portugal, carried on an immense trade with that empire. Under this sanction, and in consequence of the general toleration of sects in Asia, the Christian religion was established in this country. Three Japanese princes went to Rome to kiss the feet of Pope Gregory XIII. Christianity was like to be the predominant, and even the only religion of Japan, when its own force helped to destroy it. We have already taken notice that the missionaries had a great many enemies in that country; but they had likewise a very strong party in their favour. The bonzes were afraid for their antient possessions, and the emperor was afraid for the state. The Spaniards had made themselves masters of the Philippine islands bordering upon Japan. What they had done in America was known to all the world; therefore it is not at all surprizing that this nation

nation should be alarmed. So early as the year 1586, the emperor of Japan condemned the Christian religion; and his subjects were forbid the exercise thereof upon pain of death: but as the trade with the Spaniards and the Portuguese was still open, their missionaries gained profelytes as fast as the government made martyrs. Foreign merchants were forbid to bring any Christian priests into the country: notwithstanding this prohibition the governor of the Philippine islands sent Cordeliers upon an embassy to the emperor of Japan. These ambassadors began with building a public chapel in Meaco, the capital of the empire; but they were driven from thence, and the persecution increased. Cruelty and indulgence were shewn alternately for a long time. It is evident that reasons of state were the only cause of those persecutions; and that what determined the government to declare against the Christian religion, was the apprehension of its being rendered subservient to the ambitious designs of the Spaniards. For never did the Japanese persecute the religion of Confucius, though introduced by a people of whom they are jealous, and against whom they have often made war. Kempfer, that learned and judicious observer, who was so long upon the spot, tells us, that in 1674 they took a list of the inhabitants of Meaco; and it was found that there were twelve religions in this capital, that the inhabitants all lived very quietly, and were reckoned about four hundred thousand souls, without including the numerous court of the supreme pontiff, the Dairi. It is plain that had the Portuguese and Spaniards been satisfied with liberty

liberty of conscience, they might have lived as peaceably in Japan as the people of those twelve religions. They still carried on a most lucrative commerce in this empire in 1636, since we find that they imported from thence two thousand three hundred and fifty chests of silver into Macao.

The Dutch, who traded to Japan since the year 1600, were jealous of the Spanish commerce. In 1637 they took a vessel of this nation near the Cape of Good Hope, upon its return from Japan to Lisbon: on board this ship they found some letters from a Portuguese officer named Moro, a kind of consul from that nation, containing the project of a conspiracy of the Christians in Japan against the emperor; mentioning moreover the number of ships and soldiers they expected from Europe, and from the settlements in Asia, to execute the project. The letters were sent to the court of Japan; Moro acknowledged his hand writing, and was publicly burnt. Upon this, the government chose rather to forego all commerce with foreigners, than to be exposed any longer to the like danger. The emperor Jemits, at an assembly of the grandees, published a famous edict, that no Japanese should be permitted to leave the kingdom upon pain of death, that no foreigner should be admitted into the empire, that the Spaniards and Portuguese should be expelled, that all the Christians in the country should be imprisoned, and a reward of near a thousand crowns be given to any body that would discover a Christian priest. This violent resolution to separate themselves at once from the rest of
the

the world, and for ever to renounce the advantages of commerce, leaves no room to question but the conspiracy was real: and what puts it beyond all manner of doubt, is, that the Christians of the country, with a few Portuguese at their head, did really rise up in arms to the number of about thirty thousand; but they were defeated in 1638, and retired to a fortress upon the sea-coast, near the port of Nangasaki.

In the mean time all foreigners were expelled; even the Chinese were comprehended under this general law, because some Christians had boasted in Japan, that China was upon the point of being converted to Christianity. The Dutch themselves, who had detected the conspiracy, were driven away like the rest: the government had begun to demolish their counting house at Firando; and their ships were already sailed from that port: but there was one yet left behind, the captain of which was ordered by the government to cannonade the fortress, where the Christians had taken shelter. The Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, did this fatal service; the Christians were soon forced to surrender, and to undergo the most cruel punishments. Once more I repeat it, when we reflect on such strange revolutions in Japan, occasioned by a Portuguese captain of the name of Moro, and by a Dutch captain, whose name was Kokbeker, we rest fully convinced of the restless spirit of the Europeans, and of that fatality which disposeth of nations.

Notwithstanding the abominable service which the Dutch had done to Japan, yet they did not obtain the expected favour, of establishing a free trade: however they were permitted to land up-
on

on a little island called Desima, in the neighbourhood of Nangasaki, and there to unload a certain quantity of merchandizes.

Before they can be admitted into this little island, which may be considered in some measure as a prison, they are obliged to trample upon the cross, to renounce all marks of Christianity, and to swear that they are not of the Portuguese religion. As soon as they arrive, their ships are seized on, and a price is fixed on their merchandize. Every year they subject themselves to this restraint for the love of money; and they, who are kings at Batavia and the Moluccas, suffer themselves to be treated here as slaves. It is true they are conducted from the little island to the emperor's court, and upon the road they meet with respect and civility: but all the time they are observed with a most careful eye, and their conductors or guards take an oath signed with their blood, that they will watch every step of the Dutch, and give an exact account to the government.

It has been affirmed by several writers, that the Dutch do abjure Christianity in Japan: this opinion is founded on the adventure of a Dutchman, who having escaped the vigilance of the guards, went to live among the natives of the country, but was soon detected; to save his life he said he was not a Christian, but a Dutchman. The government ever since that time have forbid the building of any ships, fit to go out to sea. They will have none but long boats, for the commerce of their islands. To have any communication with foreigners is reckoned the highest of crimes; one would think

think they are still afraid, even after the danger is over. This terror is neither reconcileable to the courage of the people, nor to the grandeur of the empire: but they seem to have proceeded to this extremity, more from the horror of past treachery, than from the apprehension of future danger. The whole conduct of the Japanese shews them to be a people generous and easy in their temper, but bold and desperate in their resolutions; at first they gave a cordial reception to strangers, and when they perceived themselves injured and betrayed, they broke off all foreign connexion for ever.

When the great Colbert erected an East India company, he would fain have introduced the French commerce into Japan, by means of the Huguenots, who might swear that they were not of the same religion as the Portuguese: but the Dutch opposed this design; and the Japanese, content to receive every year one nation whom they treat as prisoners, would not admit of two.

I shall wave any mention here of the kingdom of Siam, said to be far more extensive and opulent than it really is; the reader will find in the *age of Lewis XIV* what little is necessary to be known concerning this country. Corea, Cochinchina, Tunquin, Laos Ava, Pegu, are tracts of land, of which we have but a very slender knowledge; and among the prodigious multitude of islands that lie scattered in the extremity of Asia, there is hardly any except Java, the centre of the Dutch commerce and empire, that comes within the plan of this general history. The same may be said of all those

those nations, that inhabit the middle of Africa, and of an infinite number of colonies in the new world. I shall only observe, that before the sixteenth century above one half of the inhabitants of the globe knew not the use of bread and wine; that a great part of America and the east of Africa are strangers to it still; and that we are obliged to carry these elements with us to those countries, to celebrate the mysteries of our religion.

The Anthropophagists are a great deal more rare, than is reported; within these fifty years our travellers have seen none. There are many species of men evidently different. Several nations live still in the state of pure nature, and while we circumnavigate the globe, to see whether their countries afford any thing to satiate our cupidity, those people do not so much as inquire whether there is any other nation besides themselves; they spend their days in a happy indolence, which to us would be a great degree of misery.

There remains a vast deal more for our idle curiosity to discover: but if we are satisfied with useful knowledge, the present discoveries are more than sufficient.

The End of the fourth and last Volume.



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<i>Popes.</i>		Kinsen	1663
Clement VIII.	1592	Kinseokwo	1687
Leo XI.	1605		
Paul V.	1605	<i>Emperors of China of the family called Mim.</i>	
Gregory XV.	1621	Xin-gum	1573
Urban VIII.	1623	Quam-gum	1621
Innocent X.	1644	Hi-gum	1621
Alexander VII.	1655	Hoai-gum	1628
Clement IX.	1667		
Clement X.	1670	<i>Of the family called Cim.</i>	
Innocent XI.	1676	Xun-chi	1645
Alexander VIII.	1689	Cam-hi	1662
Innocent XII.	1691	Yong-Tching	1722
Clement XI.	1700		
<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>		<i>Grand Moguls or emperors of India.</i>	
Rudolph II.	1576	Jehan-Guir	1605
Matthias I.	1612	Cha Jaham	1627
Ferdinand II.	1619	Aureng-zeb	1660
Ferdinand III.	1637	Cha-Hallam	1707
Leopold	1657		
Joseph	1705	<i>Sophis or emperors of Persia.</i>	
<i>Ottoman emperors.</i>		Schah Abas I.	1586
Achmet I.	1603	Schah Sefi I.	1629
Osman	1617	Schah Abas II.	1642
Mustapha I.	1621	Schah Sefi II. named }	1666
Amurath IV.	1623	Suliman.	
Ibrahim	1640	Schah Hussein	1694
Mahomet IV.	1648		
Solyman III.	1687	<i>Kings of Great Britain.</i>	
Achmet II.	1691	James I.	1603
Mustapha II.	1695	Charles I.	1625
Achmet III.	1703	Charles II.	1649
		James II.	1685
		William and Mary	1689
		Q. Anne	1702
<i>Emperors of Japan.</i>		<i>Kings of France.</i>	
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Nio Te or Seo Te	1630	Lewis XIV.	1643
Gokwomio	1643		
Sinin	1654		
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A Table of sovereign princes.

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Philip IV.	1621	Peter the Great	1696
Charles II.	1663		
Philip V.	1700	<i>Dukes of Savoy.</i>	
<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>		Charles Emmanuel I.	1580
Philip III. king of Spain	1598	Victor Amadeus I.	1630
Philip IV. king of Spain	1621	Francis Hyacinthus	1637
John IV.	1640	Charles Emmanuel II.	1638
Alfonso Henry	1656	Victor Amadeus II.	1675
Peter II.	1667	Charles Emmanuel II.	1730
John V.	1706	<i>Doges of Venice chosen in the year,</i>	
<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>		Marino Grimani	1595
Christian IV.	1588	Marco Antonio	
Frederick III.	1648	Memmio	1612
Christian V.	1670	Giovanni Bembo	1615
Frederick IV.	1659	Nicolao Donati	1618
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Charles IX	1604	Giovanni Cornaro	1624
Gustavus Adolphus	1617	Nicolao Contarini	1630
Christina	1632	Francesco Molni	1630
Charles X.	1654	Francesco Erizzo	1631
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Charles XII.	1697	Francesco Cornaro	1666
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		Luigi Contarini	1676
<i>Kings of Poland.</i>		Marco Antonio Giusti-	} 1684
Sigismund III.	1587	niani	
Ladislaus Sigismund	1632	Francesco Morosini	1683
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Michael Coribut	1669	Luigi Mocenigo	1700
John Sobieski	1674		
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Feder Borissowitz	1605	Ferdinand II.	1621
Basil Zuski	1626	Cosmo III.	1670
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